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ABSTRACT

THIS DESCRIPTIVE WORK ON SWAHILI SYNTAX, INFLUENCED BY (BUT NOT BASED ON) HALLIDAY'S GENERAL CONCEPT OF THE "ELEMENTS OF STRUCTURE," IS INTENDED FOR INTERMEDIATE AND ADVANCED STUDENTS WHO ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR WITH THE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AND THE SYSTEM OF AFFIXES IN SWAHILI. CHAPTERS TREAT THE FOLLOWING: (1) GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES; (2) SYNTACTIC UNITS; (3) THE PREDICATE; (4) THE PHRASAL PREDICATE; (5) SUBJECT-PREDICATE RELATIONSHIPS; (6) ADJUNCTS; (7) NON-VERBAL SENTENCES; (8) INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES; AND (9) CLAUSES AND LINKS. BASED ON AN "OPEN" RATHER THAN A "CLOSED" CORPUS, MANY OF THE SENTENCES IN THE TEXT HAVE BEEN GENERATED ON THE BASIS OF AN ORIGINAL SAMPLE, CHECKED BY ALL AVAILABLE INFORMANTS, AND INCLUDED ONLY WHEN THEY HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED AS VALID AND ACCEPTABLE SENTENCES BY FIRST SPEAKERS OF THE LANGUAGE. (AMM)

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SWAHILI SENTENCE STRUCTURE

by

LYNDON HARRIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

The original commission for the present work was for "a reference grammar" of Swahili. As the work proceeded it became clear that to write a satisfactory reference grammar of the language, equivalent treatment would have to be given to phonology, morphology and syntax, an enormous task impossible of achievement in the time allowed under the contract. Recognising that any reference grammar is likely to have some limitations, it was decided to pay attention to the more neglected aspect of Swahili grammar, the sentence structure, and to find a method of fairly deep structural analysis which might eventually have some practical impact wherever Swahili is taught, and particularly in the schools of East Africa. This does not mean that the present work is suitable for those schools, but it does provide a great deal of basic research upon which hopefully teaching material and methods can be based.

Swahili syntax is a new field of investigation. Apart from a few articles (1) practically nothing has been written on the subject. Conventional teaching grammars of Swahili have emphasised the approach through morphology (2) because the initial task in learning any Bantu language is to master the rather complex system of affixes. Usually so much space has to be taken in setting out the affixal system that there is little room left for any adequate treatment of the syntax. The method employed for the present description belongs to the original commission of compiling a reference grammar, although restricted to the area of syntax. The work is not meant for beginners, but for intermediate and advanced students who are already familiar with the grammatical categories and with the system of affixes. Perhaps the most important claim for the work is that it presents a systematized body of material representing syntactic structures that are valid and acceptable to first speakers of Swahili whose speech approximates to what is generally known as Standard Swahili.

Since Swahili is spoken on so many different levels, the reader will want to know what is being described here. Swahili is the lingua franca of East Africa, beside being the mother-tongue of most indigenous residents of the East African littoral. If we look for norms of Standard Swahili we can find them in Tanzania, particularly in the Dar es Salaam area and in Zanzibar township. A good test for the acceptability of any Swahili sentence is whether it is acceptable to a first speaker of the language. It is not required that the sentence should correspond in every respect to what a first speaker of Swahili would say, but it must be acceptable to him as a valid Swahili utterance. We are concerned, therefore, with the norms of Standard Swahili. There is a consensus of opinion amongst people who know the language well, whatever their linguistic background, about what is both acceptable and valid in Swahili speech and in the written word. It has been our aim to reflect this consensus in every sample of Swahili speech provided in the present work.

After consultation with friends who are established scholars at various centers including the University of Wisconsin, the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the University College in Dar es Salaam, it was left to the author to decide what method to adopt for describing Swahili sentence structure. I am grateful to Professor W. H. Whiteley for suggesting that Professor M. Halliday's approach to syntax might be useful in finding an appropriate method of description (3). There was a fairly unanimous opinion amongst those who were consulted that a transformational description should be left to someone else. For our present purposes there were some doubts, perhaps unjustified, as to the suitability of the transformational method. It seemed as if it would have involved so much description of method, making clear, say, how the grammatical categories in Swahili differ from those generally employed by the transformationists, that in the end the work would not have covered the whole range of material we wished to describe. Further examination of this work will show, however, that the basic principles of transformation have not been altogether excluded. In any case opinions are sure to differ as to whether the treatment of Swahili syntax in this book is adequate, but at least it is an attempt to present some important features of the sentence structure that have never been described or, in some instances, never even been observed before. The author takes full responsibility for what he has written. He has taken from Professor Halliday only his general concept of the "elements of structure", and in no other way can the present description be identified as "according to Halliday". The work is frankly experimental, and the author is well aware of the many inadequacies which will surely be evident to other linguists and which, as time goes on, he will be happy to see them correct.

The normal descriptive procedure requires a corpus of texts on which the analysis is based. This procedure has in fact been generally observed, but since the investigation has been of the range of structures occurring, many sentences have been generated on the basis of an original sample. In this sense it has been an open corpus rather than a closed corpus rigidly restricted to occurrent sentences in recorded texts. Each sentence has been checked and rechecked by all available informants, and then included only when it has been established as both a valid and an acceptable sentence by first speakers of the language.

The description is dependent upon the language, but the whole language is not involved in our description. The sentences provided are only samples, and it should be the student's aim to generate similar sentences illustrative of the particular syntactic features exemplified. He can use other words, other tenses, provided that he is further exemplifying what has been described. So the reader must not expect a full treatment of, say, the tense system. He can go to the traditional grammars for that. The only thing that needs mentioning here with respect to the grammatical system is our numbering of the nominal classes, as follows: Classes 1 (mu-), 2 (wa-), 3 (mu-), 4 (mi-), 5 (ji-), 6 (ma-), 7 (ki-), 8 (vi-), 9 and 10 (n-, sing. and pl. respectively), 11 (u-), 12 (ku-), and the locatives 13 (ku-), 14 (pa-) and 15 (mu-).

My principal Project Assistant under the contract was Mr. Ali Ahmed Jahadhmy who has lived and worked in both Tanzania and

Kenya. For many years Mr. Jahadhmy was an active member of the East African Swahili Committee. He has had extensive experience in teaching Swahili at the Dar es Salaam Teachers' College, the University College in Dar es Salaam, and at both Oxford and Cambridge in England. I wish here to express to him my gratitude for his cooperation and for his ready understanding of the problems involved in our work. I am grateful also to many African friends for their accumulative help in the long-range preparation for the work, and especially the late Sir Mbarak Ali Hinawy, Sheikh Abdallah al-Farsy, Chief Kadhi of Kenya, Mr. Kassim Hafidh, my assistant in London and now at Wisconsin, Mr. Muhammad Abdul Aziz, Mr. Hyder el-Kindy, Mr. James Wailu, Mr. John Sonje, Mr. Abdallah Musa and many others. I am grateful also to the Office of Education for their initial invitation to undertake this work and not least for their helpful and generous attitude throughout the project.

Chapter One

Grammatical Categories

1.00. Swahili grammar has previously been described by reference to the lexical categories associated with the description of European languages, as in English categories of noun, adjective, preposition, etc. This has meant in Swahili the inclusion of words belonging to a distinct grammatical category within a single lexical category, e.g. adverbs which are also nouns. In the present work the distinction is made between the grammatical function of words as components of a syntactic unit, as in Subject, Object, Predicate, etc., and the function of words as members of word-classes, like nominal, demonstrative, verb, etc.

1.01. A syntactic unit consists of a group of one or more words with a single grammatical function, either to predicate or to express a function in relationship to the predicator. The components of a group may consist of words of different word-classes, e.g. nominal with demonstrative, nominal with possessive, or even noun with verb as in the Phrasal Predicate.

1.02. A verbal sentence consists of one or more syntactic units of which one is Predicate. A non-verbal sentence has separate treatment since its construction is not based on the occurrence of Predicate.

The Swahili word-classes. It is necessary to identify the word-classes and to assign to each a convenient abbreviation for reference.

1.10. Types of nominal:

SsN. A short-series nominal is an independent nominal with a comparatively short series of prefixes associated with a particular stem (Noun).

LsN. A long-series nominal is a dependent nominal with a comparatively long series of prefixes associated with a particular stem (Adjective).

Certain stems like -geni foreign, -gonjwa sick, have double function both as SsN and as LsN, e.g. mgeni wetu amefika our visitor has arrived (*mgeni* is SsN), and *mwalimu mgeni amefika* the visiting teacher has arrived (*mgeni* is LsN).

Membership of a nominal class does not mean that all SsNs have the same potential relationship to words of other classes. A *full nominal* relates by affix to the verb of Predicate as well as to members of other word-classes. A *restricted nominal* does not relate by affix to the verb of Predicate, but only to Possessives and to a free *Ca* construction (see below). Restricted nominals correspond lexically to English prepositions or, in some cases, adverbs, and include such words as *juu* top, *chini* underneath, *zaidi* more, *badala* instead.

VN. A verbo-nominal is a nominalised infinitive. VNs are SsNs, but they do not have the same syntactic behavior in all contexts as nominals of other classes, because they are hybrid with both nominal and verbal characteristics, e.g. they may relate to Object.

Loc. A locative word is a word with a locative affix. A word with the locative extra suffix -*ni* is in the general locative class and is assigned to a particular locative class according to the agreement it controls either in the verb or in other words of its own group. A locative group expounds Subject if it relates to the locative subject-prefix in the verb, or Adjunct if it does not.

Ca construction. A nominal group in which C stands for either a free or a fixed extra prefix. With fixed extra prefix (no antecedent), the *Ca* construction has what in English grammar would be called adverbial function and is classified as a syntactic unit called Adjunct.

(i) With free prefix:	*siku ya kwanza*	first day
	siku za kwanza	first days
(ii) With fixed prefix:	*kwa haraka*	hurriedly
	kwa maoni yangu	in my opinion

Ca construction with fixed extra prefix occurs also in marker-words of Complementing clauses, e.g. *ya kwamba* or *ya kuwa* that.

1.11. *Other long-series words:*

Dem. Demonstrative, a word in which the class affix has dominant function.

Pos. Possessive, a word with a possessive stem.

Vb. Verb, a word with a subject-prefix and which can take at least two affixes, viz. subject- and object-affix, negative infix and tense-sign. Imperatives are defined formally as commands in which there is no subject-prefix and are classified as verbal interjections.

Rel. Relative construction which functions as an expansion to a nominal or as a nominal substitute, i.e. as substitute for SsN or LsN.

1.12. *Non-series words:*

Pron. Pronominal, a word functioning as personal discriminator, e.g. *mimi*, I *wewe* you, etc.

Adv. Adverb, an invariable word functioning only as an adverb, e.g. *kabisa*, *sana*. Members of word-classes with a series of prefixes which function as adverbs are components of the syntactic unit Adjunct.

Links serve to connect sentences and are not an integral part of the sentence structure.

1.13. *Non-verbal sentences:*

In non-verbal sentences reference is made to the following:

Cop. The copula, in the positive *ni* and in the negative *si*. Either of these particles introduces a nominal group to expound Comment, e.g. *kulima ni jambo la maana* to cultivate is a meaningful thing. Here *kulima* is the Topic, and the copulative nominal group is Comment.

Em. Emphatic. Emphatics are emphatic forms of Cop and consist in the positive of *ndi*- before a personal or class affix and in the negative of *si*- before the class affix.

LS. Linked Subject. This is the construction in which the subject-prefix indicating possession connects to the nominal or its corresponding enclitic by the use of the connective *na*, e.g. *ana kitabu* he has a book (*ana* is LS), *anacho* he has one/it, of *kitabu* book (*anacho* is LS). Diachronically there is zero verb -*li* be, and in dialect the form ali na kitabu he has a book, occurs, but where the verb is consistently zero, as in standard Swahili, it is more convenient to refer to forms like ana, anacho, as Linked Subject, indicating in the description that the subject is linked to SsN or its corresponding encletic.

Chapter Two

The Syntactic Units

2.00. Swahili sentence structure is described here with reference to the grammatical function of the following syntactic units: Predicate (P), Subject (S), Object (O), Complement (C) and Adjunct (A).

2.01. Predicate (P)

The nucleus of a verbal sentence is the Predicate, and the function of the other syntactic units is established by observing their formal relationship to P. The norm for identifying the syntactic relationships is the declarative statement.

The components of P are as follows:

(i) A verb which is a single word.

(ii) A verb phrase in which the relationship between the components is not that existing between P and O, or P and C, or P and A, because the components constitute a single syntactic unit. Since the term 'verb phrase' is generally employed to include the relationships between P and other syntactic units, this special type of verb phrase corresponding to P is referred to as Phrasal Predicate (PP). See Chapter Four.

2.02. Subject (S)

The true subject of a predicate is the subject-prefix of the verb, for it may be its own referent when there is no group expounding S, e.g. alikataa he refused. The letter P stands for (S)P in such a context, and Subject is indicated by S only if it is expounded by a nominal group, e.g. baba alikataa father refused, S P.

The relationship S P is formally indicated either by regular prefixal agreement or by specific anomalous agreement between the nominal group S and the subject-prefix of the verb expounding P. Animates of Classes 5 and 6 or 9 and 10 control the agreements of Classes 1 and 2 respectively; those of Classes 7 and 8 control the agreements of Classes 1 and 2 respectively, or with depreciatory meaning of Classes 7 and 8 respectively. This type of anomalous agreement with animates is still a type of controlled agreement, for the set of prefixes associated with any given nominal cannot be just any set.

The co-referent of the subject-prefix is a nominal group of the same class as the subject-prefix, e.g.

siku zile zilitokea matata — S P C
those days brought trouble

mwaka ule ulitokea matata — S P C
that year brought trouble

The co-referents are siku zile and mwaka ule, because with respect to each group the relevant subject-prefix is in regular agreement.

The referent of the subject-prefix is a nominal group related to the subject-prefix by specific anomalous agreement, e.g.

kizee huyu amechoka sana — S P A
this poor old person is very tired

Nominal kizee, Cl. 7, controls anomalous agreements of Cl.1 both with subject-prefix and with Dem of its own group. The group kizee huyu is the referent expounding S.

Compare:

kizee hiki kimechoka sana — S P A
this poor old thing (depreciatory) is very tired

Group kizee hiki controls agreements of its class, Cl. 7, and so is co-referent expounding S.

Anomalous agreements within the specific range of the triple locatives is quite common, but since the anomaly is confined to specific limits the locative group in anomalous agreement with a locative subject-prefix is classified as the referent of that subject-prefix and consequently the exponent of S, e.g.

nyumbani kwetu palitokea matata — S P C
at our house there arose trouble

nyumbani mwetu kulitokea matata — S P C
in our house trouble arose

Here nyumbani kwetu and nyumbani mwetu each expounds S as referent of the subject-prefix. Compare an example with co-referent:

nyumbani kwetu kulitokea matata S P C
at our house trouble arose

Any substitutable group which fails to show prefixal association within the range of the triple locatives is classified as Adjunct, even if the group has locative meaning, e.g.

katika nyumba yetu kulitokea matata A P C
in our house trouble arose

The group katika nyumba yetu expounds A.

2.03. Object (O)

A matrix sentence with nominal group expounding Object can be restated by assigning to the O group the function of S. The S group of the original sentence becomes a Link Adjunct in the restatement. Sentences identical in shape can be distinguished by their capacity for restatement. This is the test for establishing the occurrence of O, e.g.

(i) wamejenga vibanda P O
they have built huts

(ii) wamejenga vibaya P A
they have built badly

Sentence (i) restated:

vibanda vimejengwa nao S P LA
huts have been built by them

Sentence (ii) is not restatable.

The object-infix is used to express definiteness with respect to the nominal expounding O. Alternatively, the use of long-series words, particularly Dem and Pos, gives definiteness or particularity to the nominal of O, e.g.

anapenda watoto P O
he loves children

anawapenda watoto P O
he loves the children

anapenda watoto hawa P O
he loves these children

anapenda watoto wetu P O
he loves our children

Rules for the use or omission of object-infix are given in Chapter Five. Where the object-infix does not occur, the group expounding O must be distinguished from the nominal component of Phrasal Predicate. See chapter four.

2.04. Complement (C)

The Complement (C) is an objectival group which cannot be represented in the verb by an object-infix. In many instances it is a secondary object. C may precede the verb, a feature distinguishing it from the nominal component of PP. Examples:

alimpa mama zawadi nzuri P O C C is zawadi nzuri
he gave mother a beautiful present

wanachukuliana mizigo P C C is mizigo
they are carrying one another's loads

alinipigia pasi nguo zangu PP(O) C C is nguo zangu
he ironed my clothes for me

2.05. Adjunct (A)

Adjunct (A) is a group with no affixal representation in the verb and which functions as a modifier. For convenience Adjuncts are given semantic categories, viz. Adjuncts of Time, of Place, and of Manner, but these categories are not distinguished grammatically.

Groups expounding S or O relate respectively to only one affix in the verb, so that in any sentence with P or PP it is possible to have only one syntactic unit expounding S or O respectively. The absence of affixal representation in the verb allows for the occurrence of more than one Adjunct in a single sentence, e.g.

kesho nitakwenda sokoni — A P A
tomorrow I will go to the market

A Link Adjunct (LA) consists[1] of the connective na with a nominal or its pronominal substitute (usually contracted) in relation to a preceding verb, e.g.

alikuja na mkewe — P LA
he came with his wife

alikuja naye — P LA
he came with her

The surface structure of sentences of this type relates to two sentences in deep structure, e.g. alikuja he came (sentence 1) - na and - mkewe alikuja his wife came. When the connective links nominal to nominal, both nominals belong to the same syntactic unit or the same group, e.g.

Juma na mkewe walikuja — S P
Juma and his wife came

alikaa karibu na msikiti — P A
he lived near the mosque

The connective na also links sentences. When operating to link nominals or to link sentences the connective na, like other linking words, is referred to simply as a link.

Chapter Three

Predicate

3.00. The component of Predicate (P) is a one-word verb. A verb is defined as a word capable of taking more than two affixes and which has a subject. The affixes in full are subject-prefix, tense-sign, object-infix, and in relatives the relative concord. The subject-prefix is the true subject since it occurs in most contexts with no group expounding Subject (S). The customary hu- tense is an exception to this rule, for with this tense the group expounding S must occur, but most grammars relate this tense to an earlier copulative construction with copula ni followed by the infinitive. In representing the structure the letter P stands for S P, i.e., a verb with subject-prefix expounding Predicate. The syntactic unit Object consists of object-infix and the group which is its referent, but sentences occur with either the object-infix or the referent-group omitted. When both occur, Predicate-Object relationship is indicated as P O, but in the absence of the referent-group the object-infix is shown in parenthesis, viz. P(O). Obligatory relationship to O is indicated by the use of a plus sign, e.g. P +O, or P(+O).

3.01. An important feature of Swahili sentence structure is the occurrence of members of different word-classes to expound a syntactic unit corresponding to P and referred to as Phrasal Predicate (PP). Within the general concept of verb phrase there are relationships between P or PP and S,O or/and the Complement (C), and where these relationships occur they are an integral feature of the sentence structure. The syntactic unit called Adjunct (A) functions as ad-verbal or, in some cases, ad-nominal modifier. Obligatory relationships show a type of phrasality in which the syntactic units remain identifiable, but the phrasal relationship between members of word-classes expounding PP expresses a single predicative function.

3.02. The components of PP are as follows:

(i) Verb and nominal.
(ii) Verb and two independent nominals.
(iii) Verb and verb.
(iv) Nominal and verb.

3.03. The phrasal predicate is described in some detail in Chapter Four, but since mention is made of PP in the description of P, a brief analysis of PP of type (i) with components verb and nominal is given here. In sentence with O the use or omission of object-infix is a way of giving definiteness or indefiniteness respectively to the object, e.g.

alileta ndizi P O
he brought bananas

alizileta ndizi P O
he brought *the* bananas

A matrix sentence with O is restatable by assigning to O the function of S. Generally this is the test for establishing the occurrence of O, e.g.

Juma alileta ndizi S P O
Juma brought bananas

ndizi zililetwa na Juma S P A
bananas were brought by Juma

The nominal component of PP must be distinguished from the group expounding O when there is no object-infix relating to that group. The components of PP do not relate to each other as syntactic units, for PP is itself a unit. The nominal component of PP is never represented in the verb by an object-infix, e.g.

alipiga mbio PP
he ran

alizipiga mbio P O
he ran very fast

Even though the nominal *mbio* does not occur and cannot be given a separate meaning without the verb having stem *-piga* or *-enda*, the occurrence of object-infix *-zi-* results in the classification P O. But in sentences with no object-infix, the surface structure may hide two contrasting deep structures, e.g.

Juma alipiga risasi S PP or S P O
Juma shot
Or, Juma shot a bullet/s

As component of PP, the nominal *risasi* cannot precede the verb. This will be found to be true of all nominal components of PP in PPs of the order 'verb-nominal' and distinguishes them from any group expounding Object or Complement. This factor is not formally apparent in the last sentence, but is of great importance in identifying PPs.

3.04. PP may relate to O, and the components of O may be discontinuous, i.e., the position of nominal component of PP and of the object-group is interchangeable, e.g.

Juma alimpiga ndugu yake risasi S PP O
Or, *Juma alimpiga risasi ndugu yake*
Juma shot his brother

The components of PP do not relate to each other as syntactic units. Verbs that as P do not support an object may do so as components of PP, e.g.

alivunjika mguu PP
he broke his leg (he was broken - leg)

alikufa maji PP
he was drowned (he died - water)

3.05. Identification of the separate function of the nominal component of PP is irrelevant, because PP is a unit with a single grammatical function. It is important, however, that separate syntactic units should not be confused with nominal components of PP, e.g.

(a) *nchi imeenea maji* S PP
the country is covered by water

(b) *maji yameenea nchi* S P A
water covers the country

In terms of syntactic units, sentence (b) is not a restatement of sentence (a). In (b) the word *nchi* occurs alternatively with locative extra suffix -*ni*, viz. *nchini*, or with the word *katika* in its own group. These alternates establish that *nchi* in (b) expounds Adjunct and is not an integral part of the sentence structure. Whereas *maji yameenea* is a complete sentence meaning 'water is spread', *nchi imeenea* is incomplete.

3.06. The occurrence of PP is a grammatical feature. The usual practice of including verb and nominal as a single lexical item in dictionaries is not satisfactory, especially because PPs have different meanings according as to whether they take O or not. Similarly, in verb-nominal relationships PP and P O do not have the same meaning even though the separate lexical items are the same, e.g.

(a) *tulivunja jungu mwisho wa Ramadhani* PP A
we had a big celebration at the end of Ramadhan

(b) *tulilivunja jungu mwisho wa Ramadhani* P O A
we broke the big cooking-pot at the end of Ramadhan

PP in (a) has a unitary meaning different from the meaning of the separate components when used as components of separate syntactic units, as in (b). In (a) the unitary meaning is different from the meaning of *both* components in P O of (b). In the majority of PPs the unitary meaning is different from the meaning of *only one* component as compared to corresponding sentences with P O. For example:

alipiga kilemba PP or P O -*pig*- hit, *kilemba* turban
he wore a turban

alikata shauri PP or P O -*kat*- cut, *shauri* matter
he made a decision

While the non-unitary meaning of the nominals *kilemba* and *shauri* is discernible in the translation of these sentences, their occurrence is necessary to give a particular meaning to the combination of verb and noun. Yet reference to the lexical interdependence of verb and noun is not by itself the criterion for identifying PP, for the same interdependent meaning occurs when the nominal functions as O, e.g.

alikipiga kilemba Busaidia P O A
he wore the turban in the Al-Busaid manner

amelikata shauri P O
he has made the decision

The occurrence of a unitary meaning is a contributory factor in identifying PPs but the incapacity of the nominal component to be represented in the verb by object-infix and its invariable post-verbal position are the main grammatical criteria for their identification.

3.10. Minimal and Extended Radicals

Verbs have minimal and extended radicals. An extension is not in every instance syllabic, for the extension may assimilate with the final consonant of a minimal radical, e.g. -vuk- cross water, -vush- ferry.

3.11. The syntactic relationships of verbs with minimal radical are treated separately from those of verbs with extended radical. This is because verbs have different meanings in different syntactic positions, and the syntactic relationships of minimal radicals and/or of each extension are not the same. Note the following:

-pat- alipata mali mengi P O
he obtained much wealth

kisu hiki hakipati S P
this knife is blunt/does not cut

haukupata mwaka, akafariki dunia P S/V P
and in less than a year, he died

nimepata kufika kule VP A
I have been there

The meaning generally associated with radical -pat- is "get, obtain", but note the modification of meaning in contexts in which -pat- does not relate to O. This indicates that syntactic behavior is relevant to the proper understanding of the semantic properties of any given radical. It does not mean that every radical has a different meaning in every different syntactic position, but only that the syntactic relationships, especially in relation to Object, are important in observing modifications of meaning.

3.12. With radical extensions the modifications of meaning are often considerable, and the student is warned against expecting merely a slight modification of meaning of the minimal radical. In some contexts, with minimal or extended radicals, it is not possible to isolate each word and give it a meaning that will correspond to the equivalents in the English translation or even, in the case of extended radicals, to the meaning ascribed to the abstracted extended form. The meaning is dependent upon the syntactic and semantic context of the whole sentence, e.g.

-azim-	nitaviazima vitabu vile I will borrow those books	P O
	nitakuazima vitabu vile I will lend you those books	P(O) C
-azim- (-u)	nimeazimu kuondoka kesho I intend to leave tomorrow	P C-VN A
	ametuazimu kwa chakula cha mchana He has invited us to a midday meal	P(O) A
-pit-	watu wanapita barabarani People are passing on the main road	S P A
	anampita ndugu yake kwa elimu He is better educated than his brother	P O A
	nilipitiliwa It slipped my mind/I just forgot	P
	Leo nitakupitia usiku I will call for you tonight	A P(+O) A
-pind-	tulizipinda pinde zote We bent all the bows	P O
	aliupindua mtumbwi He overturned the canoe	P O

jua limepinduka kichwani S P A
The sun has passed the meridian

alipinduka barazani P A
He fell down on the verandah (he did not turn over)

mwizi alipindukia S P
The thief rolled over

mwizi alipindukia nyumbani S P A
The thief entered the house through a narrow entry/
jumped over into the house

-ugu- ameugua P
He has fallen ill

anauguliwa na mwanawe P A
He has his son ill

nimeiugua huba yangu kwa muda mwingi P O A
I have been sick with love for a long time

The above examples show that to abstract a radical and to ascribe to it or to its extensions a meaning to cover all contexts is impractical. Syntactic behavior is relevant to the meaning of all verbs in any context.

3.13. The addition of an extension to the radical in apparently identical syntactical environment serves to distinguish the environments, e.g.

anafika hapa mara kwa mara P A A
He comes here from time to time

anafikia hapa mara kwa mara P +A A
He comes to stay here from time to time

Whereas the word hapa can be omitted in the first sentence, it cannot be omitted in the second because it is in obligatory relationship to the verb. This is indicated by the use of a plus sign before the group with which its verb is in obligatory relationship. With a different structure the verb with -fiki- has a different meaning, e.g.

mtoto wetu anapafikia mahali hapa S P +O
Our child can reach up to here

Again:

walihama hapa zamani P A A
They moved from here long ago

walihamia hapa zamani P +A A
They moved here long ago

walituhamia bila sababu yoyote P(+O) Λ
They moved away from us for no reason at all

The last examples show that to abstract -hami- as meaning 'move to' (see Johnson's Standard Swahili-English Dictionary) is misleading, because this particular meaning is confined to its occurrence in a particular structure. Whereas -ham- occurs expounding P (no Object), -hami- occurs only in P +A, P(+O), or P +O.

3.14. Verbs with Minimal Radical:

There is no formal morphological feature distinguishing verbs with minimal radical which never relate to O from those which do. The distinction is semantic, e.g.

-j- alikuja jana P Λ
He came yesterday

-l- alikula ndizi P O
He ate bananas

Both verbs here have the same forms, but -j- come, belongs to a class of verbs that with minimal radical never relates to O, whereas -l- eat, belongs to a verb-class that does relate to O, e.g.

alizila ndizi P O
He ate the bananas

Another context establishes that verb with radical -*l*- also occurs without O, e.g.

tulikula njiani We ate on the way	P A

3.15. The test for establishing that certain verbs expound P only (no O) is not any reference to the English meaning. Verbs consistently intransitive in English may have Swahili equivalents which also occur in relation to O, e.g.

-*shib*-	*nimeshiba kabisa* I am replete (with food)	P A
	nimemshiba mtu yule I am fed up with that person	P O
-*ch*-	*usiku umekucha* the night is over	S P
	usiku watukucha the night is coming to an end for us	S P(O)
-*vuj*-	*nyumba yangu inavuja* my house is leaking	S P
	nilimvuja askari polisi I dodged the police-man	P O

3.16. *Identifying minimal radicals:*

A minimal radical is the irreducible core of a verb in terms of verbal elements actually occurring in the language.

Compare:	-*chuku*-	carry
	-*fungu*-	untie, open

The occurrence of -*fung*- close, shut, establishes -*fungu*- as minimal radical with separable extension -*u*-, but -*chuku*- is irreducible, i.e. there is no radical -chuk-.

Compare:	-*nenep*-	become fat (humans)

The stem -*nene*, fat, is a nominal stem, so that -*p*- is not an extension of a verbal radical. In this case -*nenep*- is classified as a minimal radical.

Where identifiable extensions occur with a radical that has no separate existence as a minimal radical, the radical should be listed in the lexicon as a starred form, e.g.

-funik-	cover
-funu-	uncover

Both -ik- and -u- are identifiable extensions, but *-fun- does not occur in Swahili, and so should be represented as a starred form. The use of a starred form excludes a consistent synchronic classification of radicals. Because of the incomplete nature of the historical evidence it is not possible to make a consistent diachronic classification of radicals either. This is why semantic reference has been the dominant feature in distinguishing radicals, but semantic reference alone can be misleading. To distinguish radicals of the same shape as completely different radicals, the semantic distinction is supplemented by other factors, namely, syntactic distinctions and a differing capacity in relation to extensions.

3.17. Of verbs with minimal radical expounding P, the great majority relate to O in certain contexts; in other contexts the same radicals occur without relating to O. A much smaller class of radicals relate compulsorily to O. Comparatively few verbs of this type expound P (no Object) in every context.

(1) P (no Object)

3.18. Many radicals listed in the dictionaries and grammars as occurring only intransitively (no O) are not intransitive in every context. Of 600 minimal radicals in Johnson's Standard Swahili-English Dictionary only 36 (6%) occur in all contexts without O. There is no morphological feature distinguishing radicals of this type from those that relate to O. In any new lexicon, minimal radicals never relating to O should be specially noted. The following is a representative list of such radicals:

-duwa-	be nonplussed	*-ket-(-i)*	sit, dwell
-éle-	float	*-koho-*	cough
-f-	die	*-kond-*	become thin
-furah-(-i)	rejoice	*-kong-*	grow old
-ish-(-i)	live	*-ku-*	grow (animates)
-iv-	be ripe	*-lew-*	be drunk
-j-	come	*-li-*	cry
-jasir-(-i)	dare, venture	*-nam-*	be flexible
-jitahid-(-i)	make effort	*-naw*	wash (hands or face)
-jonge-	move, pass	*-nenep-*	become fat
-kaw-	delay, linger	*-vum-*	rumble, etc.
-kesh-	keep watch, stay up at night	*-w-*	be

(2) *P(O obligatory)*

3.19. Minimal radicals occur in verbs which in statements - the norm for observing primary syntactic relationships - must relate to O. In response patterns there may be no formal element representing O. In statements O is represented either by object-infix or by a nominal group or by both and without such representation the statement is not a valid utterance.

-let-	*alileta vitabu* he brought books.	P +O
	alivileta vitabu he brought the books	P +O
	alivileta he brought them (books)	P(+O)

In a statement, *alileta*, is not a complete utterance. Compare examples with minimal radical occurring in P to which O is not in compulsory relationship:

alicheka he laughed	P
alinicheka he laughed at me	P(O)

Both of these are valid sentences. There is a distinction, therefore, between the syntactic behavior of -let- and that of -chek- in obligatory relationship to O. In response pattern, however, radical -let- occurs in a verb with no infix representing O, e.g.

Q. ulileta vitabu? P +O
did you bring books?

A. nilileta P
I brought them

The following is a representative list of minimal radicals which expound P in obligatory relationship to O:

-fich-	hide	-ti-	put, place
-fumb-	shut, close	-to-	take out, give
-hitaj-(-i)	require, need	-tung-	construct, compose
-nunu-	buy	-tup-	throw away
-oko-	save	-twa-	take
-ondo-	remove	-u-	kill
-pig-	hit	-uz-	sell
-salim-(-u)	greet	-vunj-	break
-sif-(-u)	praise	-vut-	draw, pull
		-wek-	place

The radical -p- give, occurs in obligatory relationship to O usually with Complement as well, e.g. tulimpa zawadi we gave him a gift P (+O) C. To express 'give' in P relating only to O, radical -to- is used, e.g. alitoa zawadi he gave a gift (P O).

(3) P (O or not)

3.20. The majority of minimal radicals in verbs expounding P relate to O in certain contexts; in other contexts the same radicals occur without relating to O.

The following examples illustrate these uses and are chosen to show that classification according to the English equivalent in a single context - transitive or intransitive - may be very misleading:

-amba-	tuliambaa pwani	we hugged the shore	P A
	aliniambaa	he snubbed me/passed me without acknowledging me	P (O)
-ele-	mtumbwi wetu unaelea tena	our canoe is floating again	S P A
	moyo unamwelea	he is feeling sick/nauseated	S P (O)
-ene-	sahani zitaenea	the plates will go round (be enough)	S P
	nguo hii imekuenea	this garment (cloth) covers you up/ is big enough for you	S P (O)
-fa-	kamba hii itafaa	this rope will do/will serve	S P
	dawa hii ilinifaa sana	this medicine did me a lot of good	S P(O) A
-fung-	mvua imefunga	rain has set in	S P
	alimfunga mbuzi	he tied up the goat	P O
-gand-	maziwa yameganda	the milk is sour	S P
	alimganda shingoni	he clasped him round the neck	P (O) A
-ka-	anakaa Nairobi	he lives in Nairobi	P A
	amenikaa rohoni	she has influenced me	P (O) A
-pa-	alipaa mbinguni	he ascended to heaven	P A
	usingizi ulinipaa	sleep left me	S P (O)

-pand-	mlima huu umepanda sana this hill is very steep	S P A
	tumezipanda mbegu we have planted the seeds	P O
-i-	alirudi nyumbani he returned home	P A
	alimrudi mtoto wake he disciplined his child	P O
-shind-	alishinda vitani he was victorious in war	P A
	aliwashinda adui zake he overcame his enemies	P O
-song-	njia inasonga the path is narrow	S P
	watu walimsonga mgeni people hemmed the visitor in/pressed round him	S P O

Single Extensions

3.21. Any distinction in syntactic behavior between a verb with an extended radical and a verb with a corresponding minimal radical may be regarded as a function of the extension. Similarly, any distinction of meaning between corresponding forms with identical syntactic behavior may be attributed to the presence of the extension of the radical. Examples:

(I)	-let-	alileta zawadi he brought a gift	P O
(II)	-lete-	aliniletea zawadi he brought me a gift	P (+O) C
(III)	-lip-	alimlipa deni lake he paid him what he owed him (his debt)	P(O) C
(IV)	-lipi-	alimlipia deni lake he paid the debt on his (second party's) behalf	P(+O) C

The function of the extension in II is to bring the verb into obligatory relationship to O.

In classifying the extensions, therefore, we have to bear in mind both their syntactic and semantic functions. While it is possible to classify the syntactic relationships of each of the primary extensions, their semantic function is not subject to any neat system of classification covering the whole range of meanings expressed, not least because in many instances it is not possible to separate the meaning of the extension from the meaning of the radical. Both radical and extension may combine to express a modification of the meaning of the minimal radical. Although in most descriptions of Bantu languages extensions have been identified in terms of a generalized shape with an assignable meaning, this is only as a general guide. The danger is in taking meaning as a criterion for classification, and this has sometimes resulted in extensions of a single shape being classified as different extensions because the meanings are different. Classification of radical extensions is made here according to shape and syntactical function. The meaning will be noted, but not as a criterion for classification.

3.22. In traditional grammars, the different extensions have been assigned names, e.g. Applicative (Applied, Prepositional), Causative, Reversive (Conversive), Contactive, etc. Such names have reference to a general meaning assignable to a particular extension, but they do not in every instance indicate the grammatical function of the relevant extension in particular contexts. For example, the term Applicative implies that the function of the extension is to relate or apply to some other element of structure, but so-called Applicatives occur in contexts in which the extension has no such function, e.g.:

bahari imetulia S P (-tu-, -tuli-)
the sea has calmed

cf. moyo wake umemtulia A P(O)
he has calmed down

Only in the last sentence does the extension have an applied function in relation to O.

sehemu hizi watu wamepotea A S P (-pot-, -pote-)
in these parts people are scarce

cf. kisu kimenipotea S P(O)
I have lost my knife

Similar examples could be given with other extensions to show that the name assigned to a particular extension does not indicate its grammatical function in every context. It is useful as a general guide to the dominant functions and is a convenient device for the purpose of reference. So long as this is understood, the extensions can be listed each with its traditional title.

Vowel Harmony

3.23. Vowel harmony operates as between the vowel/s of a minimal radical and the vowel/s of the extension/s. This applies to the most widely employed extensions, viz. Passive, Applicative, Causative, and Neuter-Passive.

Radical vowel/s -a-, -i-, or -u- have vowel -i- where a vowel occurs in these extensions.

Radical vowel/s -o- or -e- have vowel -e- where a vowel occurs in these extensions.

Examples:

-pat- obtain -pati-, patili-, -patiliz-, etc.
-pit- pass -piti-, -pitiwa-, -pitik-, etc.
-pung- wave -pungi-, -pungik-, -pungish-, etc.
-staajab-(-u) be surprised -staajabi-, -staajabish-, etc.
-harib-(-u) destroy -haribi-, -haribik-, -haribish-, etc.

-*fikir-(-i)* consider -*fikiri*-, *fikirik*-, -*fikirish*-, etc.
-*som*- read -*some*-, -*somew*-, -*somesh*-, etc.
-*sem*- speak -*seme*-, -*semew*-, -*semek*-, etc.

With the minimal radical itself there is usually vowel harmony on the scale of -*a*- followed by -*i*- or -*u*-, or any variant sequence of these vowels. Similarly -*o*- is followed by -*o*- or -*e*-, and vice versa. There are a few radicals in which this harmony is broken. When this occurs, the vowel of the extension is usually in harmony with the nearest vowel to the extension, e.g.

-*eu*- purify -*euli*-, *euliw*-
-*geu*- change -*geuli*-, -*geuliw*-
-*teu*- choose -*teuliw*-, -*teulik*-

In some recent borrowings from English this does not apply, e.g. -*ripotiwa* be reported, as compared to the borrowing -*fotolew*- to be photographed, in which the vowel harmony is regular.

A few radicals of Arabic origin with sequent -*e*- do not observe the law of vowel harmony, e.g.

-*lehem-(-u)* solder -*lehemiw*-, -*lehemik*-
-*rekeb*-(-u) ride, mount -*rekebish*-

Note also the eccentric form -*tuesh*- call on at night, cf. -*tu*- settle down, etc.

Minimal radicals with vowel -*a*-, -*e*-, -*i*-, or -*u*- have -*u*- as the Reversive extension, eg.

-*tat*-	be entangled	-*tatu*-	unravel
-*teg*-	set trap	-*tegu*-	untrap
-*fich*-	hide	-*fichu*-	reveal
-*kunj*-	fold	-*kinju*-	unfold

Minimal radicals with vowel -*o*- have -*o*- as the Reversive extension, e.g.

-*chom*-	pierce	-*chomo*-	extract
-*komb*-	scrape, clean out	-*kombo*-	redeem

3.24. The single primary extensions are listed as follows:

(1)	-*w*- (-*w*-, -*iw*-, -*ew*-, -*liw*-, -*lew*-)	Passive
(2)	-*i*- (-*i*-, -*e*-, -*li*-, -*le*-)	Applicative
(3)	-*y*- (-*y*-, diff.)	Causative
(4)	-*an*- (-*an*-)	Reciprocal
(5)	-*ik*- (-*ik*-, -*ek*-, -*k*-)	Neuter-passive
(6)	-*u*- (-*u*-, -*o*-)	Reversive
(7)	-*am*- (-*am*-, -*m*-)	Static
(8)	-*at*- (-*at*-, -*a*-)	Contactive

No rule can be stated to establish which radicals can take which extensions, for this depends upon the capacity of each radical to have some modification or extension of meaning. The first five extensions occur most frequently, but it must not be taken for granted that a radical with any one of these occurs also with the others. The system is exceedingly complex, and each radical has its own particular capacity for extension.

Extension (3) -y-, Causative, has different realisations which are noted in the description of this extension.

3.25. (1) -w- Passive

The variants -*iw*- and -*ew*- occur when the radical is a single consonant, e.g. -*l*- eat, -*liw*-, -*p*- give, -*pew*-, or when the final vowel of the verb stem is -*u* or -*i* or -*e*, e.g. -*haribu* destroy, -*haribiw*-; -*buni* make up, invent, -*buniw*-, -*samehe* forgive, -*samehew*-.

In expounding P, verbs with minimal radical and extension -*w*- or equivalent (Passive) occur in statements with an Adjunct. In traditional terms the Adjunct expresses either the agent or the instrument of the verbal action, but it is better not to classify the different types of Adjunct by reference to such terms. Compare:

nyumba hii ilijengwa na ndugu yangu S P A
this house was built by my brother

nyumba hii ilijengwa kwa ndugu yangu S P A
this house was built for my brother

nyumba hii ilijengwa kwa matofali S P A
this house was built with bricks

The first sentence with link Adjunct *na ndugu yangu* can be restated as follows:

ndugu yangu alijenga nyumba hii S P O
my brother built this house

No similar restatement can be made of the other two sentences with modifying Adjunct. While the majority of occurrences with link Adjunct are of the link *na* with nominal group indicating animates (agent), the link Adjunct also occurs as an alternate for a modifying Adjunct with nominal group in either case indicating inanimates. Whether or not the sentence with the link Adjunct can then be restated depends upon the capacity of the verb to take an Object, e.g.

watu wengine wa siasa hununuliwa na pesa S P A
Or,
watu wengine wa siasa hununuliwa kwa pesa S P A
some politicians are bought with money

The first sentence restated:

pesa hununua watu wengine wa siasa S P O
money buys some politicians

Compare:

nimefurahi na kazi yenu P A
Or,
nimefurahi kwa kazi yenu P A
I am pleased with your work

Neither of these sentences can be restated with a minimal radical in the verb because *-furah-* is a minimal radical which never takes an Object. The radical *-nunu-*, however, can take an Object.

Where alternates do not occur, the link Adjunct indicates the agent of the verbal action, but instrumentality is only one of the meanings expressed by modifying Adjuncts. When it is expressed, the modifying Adjunct is introduced by kwa, but a verb in the passive can be modified also by Adjuncts without kwa; and the use of kwa does not invariably indicate instrumentality.

Examples:

-let-	barua yangu ililetwa na mjomba my letter was brought by my uncle	S P Λ
	barua yangu ililetwa kwa ndege my letter was brought by plane	S P Λ
	barua yangu ililetwa jana my letter was brought yesterday	S P Λ
-l-	ile nyama ililiwa na simba that/the meat was eaten by a lion/lions	S P Λ
	ile nyama ililiwa kwa wali the/that meat was eaten with rice	S P Λ
	ile nyama ililiwa upesi the/that meat was eaten quickly	S P Λ
-to-	amri hii ilitolewa na serikali this law was put out/given by the government	S P Λ
	amri hii ilitolewa kwa redio this law was given out on the air/by radio	S P Λ
	amri hii ilitolewa zamani this law was given long ago	S P Λ

The extension -iw- or -ew- of the passive, occurring with radicals consisting of a single consonant and when the final vowel of the stem is -u or -i or -e, has the same shape as the passive of the Applicative (double extension), e.g.

-f-	alifiwa na mamaye he was bereaved by his mother	P Λ
-l-	aliliwa na simba he was eaten by a lion	P Λ

Restatement of these sentences shows that although the extensions have the same shape in these sentences, they relate to different forms of the verb in the restatement. This is because the minimal radical -f- never takes an Object:

mamaye alimfia S P(+O)
he lost his mother

simba alimla S P(O)
a lion ate him

Compare:
-furah-(-i) nimefurahiwa na kazi yenu
I am pleased with your work

The minimal radical -furah- never takes an Object, and with the Applicative it relates to Complement in obligatory relationship, viz.

nimefurahia kazi yenu P _+C
I have been pleased about your work

Here the nominal group cannot be represented in the verb by an object-infix. The semantic restatement of the sentence with the passive calls for the use of the causative extension:

kazi yenu imenifurahisha S P(O)
your work has pleased me

The distinction between Adjuncts with na or with kwa after a passive verb is in some instances significant for identifying the meaning of the verb, e.g.

alichomwa na kijiti P A
he was pierced by a wooden peg

Restated:

kijiti kilimchoma S P(O)
a peg of wood pierced him

alichomwa kwa kijiti P A
he was burnt by a piece of wood

The PP alichomwa kijiti is ambiguous in meaning and so the following contrastive sentences are normally employed:

alichomwa kijiti PP
he was pierced by a wooden peg

alichomwa moto kwa kijiti PP A
Or, alichomwa kwa kijiti P A
he was burnt by a piece of wood

The sentence alichomwa kijiti is not the same sentence as either of the other sentences, i.e. with na or kwa omitted, because its structure is different. For this reason, it is inadvisable to refer to the omission of na or kwa or to seek for rules for this omission. The only reason for seeking such rules would be if, after the omission, the syntactic structure and the meaning remained the same. A sentence consisting of PP can be substituted by a sentence consisting of P A, but although the meaning is the same, they are different sentences because they have different structure. Conversely, two sentences of the same syntactic structure and the same meaning can be said to be equivalent sentences even if the grammatical elements do not exactly coincide. This applies particularly to PPs in which there is no relationship of word-groups as different syntactic units, e.g.:

nimechanja ndui PP
Or, nimechanjwa ndui PP
I have been vaccinated for small-pox

The distinction between the form with minimal radical and the one with the passive extension would be significant only if the meaning were modified. Normally, the use of the extension does bring a modification of meaning and then the sentences are not equivalent, e.g.

alitoa chai
he offered a bribe

alitolewa chai
he was bribed

Examples of different sentences with the same meaning:

shamba limeingiwa simba PP
shamba limeingiwa na simba P A
simba wameliingia shamba S P O
lions have gone into the cultivated field

To translate the second sentence as 'the cultivated field has been entered by lions' is merely to provide a word-for-word translation which corresponds in meaning to the translation given for each of the three sentences.

Note a different type of Adjunct occurring after a passive verb:

nyumba hii ilijengwa ya mawe S P A
this house was built of stone

The prefix y- of the Ca construction ya mawe agrees with nyumba, but syntactically it does not form a nominal group with nyumba hii. Compare:

nyumba hii ya mawe ilijengwa na ndugu yangu S P A
this stone house was built by my brother

In the previous sentence the subject-prefix of the verb, i-, has nyumba hii as its referent, and ya mawe is classified as an eccentric type of Adjunct since it agrees with the nominal expounding S.

There is no passive form of verbs with minimal radical which never relate to O in expounding P.

All verbs with minimal radical which occur in compulsory relationship to O in expounding P have a passive form.

Verbs with minimal radical relating to O in certain contexts and expounding P do not all have a passive form. This is important, because it means that not every sentence with the P O relationship can be restated with a passive in the P A relationship, e.g.

-fik- fedheha hizi zinatufika sisi kina mama S P O
this shame reaches us women

-vimb- mkono umenivimba S P(O)
my hand is swollen

No restatement of these sentences with passive extension.

(2) *-i-* (*-e-*) Applicative

3.26. The variants -*li*- or -*le*- occur if minimal radical consists of or ends in a vowel, e.g. -*u*- kill, -*uli*; -*o*- marry, -*ole*; -*ti*- put, -*tili*-; -*to*- give, -*tole*-; -*chuku*- carry, -*chukuli*-; -*tobo*- drill, bore, -*tobole*-.

Although morphologically an extension is associated with a given radical, in classifying the extensions we do not rank the extended form as merely a modified form of the form with minimal radical. It is not "the same verb" with an extension. The presence of an extension may affect the syntactic or semantic function of the verb. For instance, many verbs which with minimal radical expound P, expound only the verb-component of PP when an extension is employed. Any syntactic or semantic distinction between a form with minimal radical and a form with extended radical signifies that the verbs are not equivalents. This is why verbs with extended radical should have separate treatment from verbs with minimal radical. No attempt will be made, therefore, to correlate further the syntactic function of verbs having minimal radical with that of verbs having extended radical.

The Applicative extension occurs in the following syntactic environments in expounding P:

(1) No obligatory relationship to any other element of structure

(2) Obligatory relationship to Object

(3) Obligatory relationship to Adjunct

A further reason for not correlating extended verbs with minimal verbals is the obligatory relationship of the former to Object and to Adjunct where this occurs. While only one group of minimal verbs is in obligatory relationship to Object, all extended verbs relating to Object or Adjunct have no optional occurrence without the related syntactic unit, e.g.

alimwendea rafiki yake sokoni P +O A
he went to his friend in the market

There is no optional occurrence without O.

alimwolea kwa ajili ya pesa zake P(O) +A
he married her for her money

There is no optional occurrence without A, i.e. alimwolea is not by itself a complete utterance. The same meaning can be expressed by the use of a minimal radical in the verb, but then the occurrence of A is optional, e.g.

alimwoa kwa ajili ya pesa zake P(O) A
he married her for her money

alimwoa P(O)
he married her

The obligatory relationship is a type of phrasality and to classify the above sentences both as P(O) A, is to obscure the nature of the relationship between P and A. The test of obligatory relationship is whether the verb with the extension can occur as a complete utterance, e.g.

baba alifia baharini S P +A
my father died at sea

baba alikufa baharini S P A
my father died at sea

baba alikufa S P
my father died

aliangukia sakafuni P +A
he fell on the ground

alianguka sakafuni P A
he fell on the ground

alianguka P
he fell down

Note the following:

alikatia nyama kwa kijembe
he used a pen-knife for cutting meat

Here nyama is a complement which cannot be represented in the verb by an object-infix. It is not, according to our definition, Object. The sequence alikatia nyama is not a complete utterance because the verb is in obligatory relationship to kwa kijembe. The word nyama is nevertheless a separate syntactic unit because it is not a constituent of PP. It is a syntactic unit of restricted occurrence and can be indicated in the syntactic classification as C, viz. P C +A.

alikatia kwa kijembe P +A
he used a pen-knife for cutting

aliikata nyama kwa kijembe P O A
he cut the meat with a pen-knife

alikata nyama kwa kijembe P O A
he cut meat with a pen-knife

In P O A, A can be omitted.

Note again:

aliwafukuzia wezi P +O
he ran after the thieves (to catch them)

aliwafukuza wezi P O
he chased the thieves away

aliwafuatia wenziwe P +O
he caught up with his companions

aliwafuata wenziwe P O
he followed his companions

Compare:

amewakimbia wazazi wake P O (No extension)
he has run away from his parents

amewakimbilia wazazi wake P +O (Extension)
he has run to his parents

amekimbia upesi P A
he has run away quickly

amekimbia Nairobi P A
he has run away from Nairobi

amekimbia jela P A
he has run away from prison

Compare:

amekimbilia Nairobi P +A
he has run away to Nairobi

amekimbilia shule P +A
he has run to school

Whereas P in P A (no Object) is a complete utterance capable of taking different types of A, e.g. A of Manner, Time or Place, P in P +A is in obligatory relationship to A of Place only.

Syntactic Relationships of Applicative

3.27 (1) No obligatory relationship to another unit

Examples:

chakula kidogo kimebakia S P -bak-(-i), -baki-
a little food is left over

amekawia or amekawa P -kaw-, -kawi-
he is delayed

amekosea P -kos-, -kose-
he has made a slight mistake

amepolea P -po-, -pole-
he has calmed down

kisu kimepotea S P -pot-, -pote-
a knige is lost

mtumbwi umepwea S P -pw-, -pwe-
the canoe is grounded

amenywea P -nyw-, -nywe-
he has become subdued

umevalia leo P A -va-, -vali-
you are dressed up today

alizimia P -zim-, -zimi-
she fainted

3.28. (2) Obligatory relationship to O

Examples:

kanzu hii imekufalia S P(+O)-fa-, -fali-
this robe suits you

cf.kanzu hii imekufaa S P(O) -fa-
this robe suits you

kanzu hii inafaa S P
this robe is alright

Here S P is an impossible sequence with extended radical in the verb. Similarly S P is an impossible sequence with that group of verbs having minimal radical which occur in obligatory relationship to O, e.g.

mali yake ilimfidi katika kifungo S P(+O) A -fidi-
his wealth got him out of prison

alimfidia baba yake kwa pesa P +O A -fidi-
he redeemed his father by money/bailed him out

Both -fidi- and -fidi- occur only in obligatory relationship to O, and the occurrence of A is optional.

alimgombea rafiki yake P +O -gomb-, -gombe-
he stood up for his friend

chakula kimetuishia S P(+O) -ish-, -ishi-
we have no food left

mgeni ametujia S P(+O) -j-, -ji-
a visitor has come to us

Mungu alimjalia S P(+O) -jal-(-i), -jali-
God was gracious to him

anamlilia mama yake P +O -li-, -lili-
he is crying for his mother

nitakuombea P(+O) -omb-, -ombe-

I will pray for you

anamwonea ndugu yake P +O -on-,-one-

he is bullying/oppressing his brother

kidonda kimejipolea S P(+O) -po-, -pole-

the sore has healed itself

sauti yangu imenipwea S P(+O) -pw-, -pwe-

my voice is hoarse

3.29. (3) Obligatory relationship to A

naonea kwa miwani hii P +A -on-,-one-

I can see with these eye-glasses

ndege alirukia mtini S P +A -ruk-, -ruki-

a bird flew onto a tree

ameshukia kwangu P +A -shuk-, -shuki-

he has come to stay with me

Note:

aliupandia ule mbuyu kwa ngazi P O A -pand-, -pandi-

he climbed the baobab tree with a ladder

With object-infix, A can be omitted, i.e. no obligatory relationship.

alinolea kile kisu kwa kinoo P C +A -no-, -nole-

he sharpened the knife on a whetstone

Here +A cannot be omitted, but C can, e.g.

alinolea kwa kinoo P +A

he used a whetstone for sharpening

alikinolea kisu kwa kinoo P O A

he sharpened the knife on a whetstone

Element A can be omitted.

Again:

alichochea utambi kwa kiberiti P C +A

he poked the wick with a match

Obligatory relationship of A to P.

aliuchochea utambi kwa kiberiti   P O A
he poked the wick with a match
aliuchochea utambi   P O
he poked the wick
alichochea kwa kiberiti   P +A
he used a match for poking

A few verbs with Applicative extension occur in obligatory relationship both to O and A, e.g.

amekatalia mbali maneno yangu   P +A +O   -kata-, -katali-
he has rejected my words

In relation to the verb, the position of mbali is fixed. An object-infix is permissible in the verb, but P +A without +O, or P +O without +A is not acceptable.

Cf. amekataa maneno yangu   P O
he has refused my words, i.e. what I say
alitupia mbali zawadi yangu   P +A +O   -tup-, -tupi-
he threw away/rejected my present
Cf. alitupa mbali zawadi yangu   P A O
he threw my present far away

Here the position of mbali is free, and it can be omitted, e.g.

alitupa zawadi yangu mbali   P O A
he threw my present far away
alitupa zawadi yangu
he threw away my present
alizitupia nje takataka zote   P +A +O
he threw out all the trash
Or alizitupa takataka zote nje   P O A
alitupa nje takataka zote   P O A
he threw all the trash outside

(3) -*y*-, different. Causative

3.30. The so-called Causative extension of verbs with minimal radical in Swahili has more than one realisation. The common Bantu extension -*i*- of the Causative is confined to a very small list of radicals, e.g. -*on*-see, -*ony*- warn; -*kan*-deny, -*kany*- forbid, rebuke, and with assimilation to the final consonant or semi-vowel of the radical: -*ogop*- fear, be afraid, -*ogofy*- frighten; -*lew*- be drunk, -*levy*- make drunk.

The most frequent Causative extensions are -*ish*- or -*esh*-, -*z*- and -*iz*- or -*oz*-, as follows:

(i) Minimal radicals ending in a consonant or consonantal cluster have -*ish*- or -*esh*-, e.g. -*ap*- take an oath, swear, -*apish*- put under oath; -*imb*- sing, -*imbish*- conduct singing; -*som*- read, -*somesh*- teach; -*omb*- beg, pray, -*ombesh*- make to beg, instruct or lead in prayer.

(ii) Minimal radicals ending in a vowel have -*z*-, e.g. -*ja*- be full, -*jaz*- fill; -*ele*- be clear, -*elez*- explain; -*kimbi*- run away, -*kimbiz*- put to flight. With -*o*- as final vowel of the radical, this formation is irregular, e.g. -*ongo*- lead, guide, -*ongoz*- lead, guide, but no corresponding form with -*ondo*- remove or -*bomo*- pull down. (See below, para.

With some radicals ending in a vowel, comparison with occurrences in other languages shows that consonant -*l*- has been omitted in the Swahili radical. Where -*l*- is retained, the extension -*z*- takes its place, e.g. -*lal*- lie down, -*laz*- put to bed, lay down. The latent -*l*- is realised in Applicative and in alternate Causatives, e.g. -*lali*- lie down on, -*lalish*- lay down.

(iii) Minimal radicals consisting of a single consonant or a monosyllable have -*ish*-, or -*esh*-, e.g. -*f*- die, -*fish*- cause to die, -*l*- eat, -*lish*- feed; -*ny*- discharge, of fluid, -*nyesh*- cause to or make discharge, of fluid; -*nyw*- drink, -*nywesh*- water.

(iv) Some minimal radicals have the extension -*ish*- or -*esh*- and also a form with -*iz*- or -*ez*-. Since there is no reason for relating the -*iz*- or -*ez*- extnnsion to the Applicative extension, it must be regarded as a single extension within the category of Causatives. It usually expresses intensivity, but to attribute a single semantic function to this extension is inadvisable. Its function can be observed in the context of subsequent sentences; but it is not to be confused with -*z*- occurring with minimal radicals ending in a vowel.

It must not be presumed that every radical has a Causative extension. Some radicals of frequent occurrence do not have this extension, e.g. -*let*- bring, -*j*- come. The radical -*o*- marry has extended radical -*oz*- cause to marry, give in marriage, but radical -*u*- kill does not have a Causative. Similarly, minimal radicals vary in their capacity to take this extension, but a Causative may occur of the same radical with another extension or other extensions, e.g. -*ling*- be equal, level, match, etc., -*linganish*- compare; Causative of the Reciprocal. Within the full grid of possible extensions there are omissions.

Eccentric extensions of the Causative are those which do not follow the pattern of the majority. Note the modification of final consonant of the minimal radical in the following: -*nuk*- stink, -*nus*-, but also -*nukiz*- use the sense of smell; -*ruk*- fly, -*rush* make fly. Analogous forms occur which are in fact Causatives of Statives, e.g. -*stuk*- be startled, -*stush*- startle, cf. -*stu*- startle, move suddenly; -*wak*- be lit, -*wash*- light, cf. -*wa*-shine. Note also -*pit*- pass, -*pish*- allow or cause to pass, but also -*pitish*-; -*pat*- get, -*pash*- cause to get, and -*pas*- befit, behoove.

An eccentric extension -*z*- occurs infrequently in relation to both a minimal radical and an extended radical, e.g. -*ban*- press, squeeze, -*banz*- squeeze; -*pand*- climb, -*panz*- make go up, but also -*pandish*-. The form -*banz*- occurs only with the reflexive infix -ji-, e.g. alijibanza ukutani. he squeezed himself against a wall. If the Object represents a different person or class, then the single radical is used with the same meaning, e.g. walitubana ukutani, they squeezed us against a wall. In this connection there are a few other verbs in which the object-infix is restricted to -ji- eg. alijibwagaza he threw himself down, but alinibwaga chini he threw me down; alijibidiisha, he took special pains, but no forms with another object-infix. With another extension, -z- occurs in an alternate Causative, e.g. -fany- make, do, -fanz-, cf. -fan- and -fa- be useful, be good of its kind, etc.

Verbs of Arabic origin with final vowel of the stem other than -e- have -ish- as Causative extension. With -e- as final vowel of the stem, the extension is -esh-. For example, -badili change, -badilisha cause to change, -tubu regret, -tubisha make regret, -samehe forgive, - samehesha cause to forgive. The stems -sahau forget, and -dharau scorn retain the final vowel of the stem and introduce -l- before -ish-, e.g. -sahaulisha make forget, -dharaulisha make despise.

A number of causative forms occur of verbs related to nominals of Arabic origin. In some instances these verbs occur only as causatives; there is no minimal radical, nor even an infinitive. For example: -bahatish- guess, -bahati- luck, chance; -sawazish- equalize, compare, sawa like, equal; -neemesh- cause to prosper, neema bounty, favor, grace.

3.31. The following sentences with the same structure, P O, illustrate the contrast between uses with minimal radical and with causative extension of the same radical:

alimwona rafiki yake
he saw his friend

alimwonya rafiki yake
he warned his friend

alimwogopa baba yake
he was afraid of his father

alimwogofya mtoto wake
he frightened his child

alikula nyama
he ate meat

aliwalisha wanyama
he fed the animals

alibadili nguo zake
he changed his clothes (put others on)

alibadilisha nguo zake
he had his clothes changed/substituted/altered

alifuta kazi -fut-wipe away, kazi work
he gave his notice

alifutisha kazi
he had his notice given in

tuligawa mkate
we divided the bread

tuligawisha mkate
we had the bread divided

anampenda dada
he loves my sister

anampendeza dada
he pleases my sister

alimkimbia mgeni
he ran away from the stranger

walimkimbiza mgeni
they put the stranger to flight

These sentences have the syntactic pattern: P O, but Causatives occur also without O (O is optional). Other contexts with a Causative have P O C.

Syntactic Relationship of Causative. The three syntactac environments are illustrated as follows, with the minimal radical where it occurs, listed outside each sentence:

3.32. (1) Causative - No Object

nimesomesha hapa miaka miwili I have taught here for two years	P A A	-som-
Juma anakaribisha siku zote Juma entertains all the time (he has guests)	S P A	Zero
alibahatisha tu he just/merely guessed	P A	Zero
anafundisha Tanga he is teaching in Tanga	P A	-fund-
yai hili limeviza this egg has gone bad	S P	-vi-
aliangaza usiku kucha he kept awake all night	P A	-anga-
ulevi huu unachosha kabisa this drunkenness is really too much (it makes tired)	S P A	-chok-
dau lilikwaza mwambani a dhow struck hard on a rock	S P A	-kwa-
amechagiza siku hizi he is throwing his weight about these days	P A	-chag-

3.33. (2) Causative - With Object

anaendesha basi Nairobi he drives a bus in Nairobi	P O A	-end-
alimwadhibisha mwizi he had the thief punished	P O	-adhibu
alizijibisha barua he got the letters answered	P O	-jibu
alimjibiza adui yake he retaliated on his enemy	P O	-jibu
ananywesha maua yangu he is watering my flowers	P O	-nyw-
alipikisha chakula he had food cooked	P O	-pik-

aliufungisha mlango   P O   -fung-
he had the door closed

alimtolesha Juma kazini   P O A   -to-
he had Juma put out of a job

alizitolesha pesa za vibarua   P O   -to-
he had the workers' money given out

3.34. (3) Causative - With Object and Complement

The Complement is a secondary object capable of preceding the verb, of being separated from it by Adjunct as well as Object, and of being expanded within its own group.

Abdallah alimjulisha Juma mkewe   S P O C   -ju-
Abdallah introduced his wife to Juma

alimpikisha Juma chakula cha jioni   P O C   -pik-
he had Juma cook the evening meal

nalimkumbusha mwalimu deni lake   P O C   -kumbak-
I reminded the teacher about his debt

nilimbebesha mpagazi mzigo wake   P O C   -beb-
I helped the porter get his load on his back

nilimchukulisha Juma vitabu byake   P O C   -chuku-
I helped Juma carry his books

Note the contrast in meaning of the same verb as between its occurrence in P O and in P O C:

nilimchukulisha mtoto   P O
I had the child carried

nilimchukulisha mtoto mzigo wake   P O C
I helped the child carry his load

Again:

walinitoza pesa kwenye basi   P O C A   -to-
they made me pay money at the bus

walimtoza Juma faini ya shilingi kumi   P O C
they fined Juma ten shillings

Note that in place of a nominal group, the Complement can be expounded by a Complementing clause or its substitute, i.e. verbo-nominal with object and/or adjunct:

waliwalazimisha wageni waondoke mara moja P O Comp.
Or waliwalazimisha wageni kuondoka mara moja P O Comp.
they compelled the strangers to leave at once

baba aliniwezesha nimalize kazi yangu ya nyumbani SP(O) Comp.
Or baba aliniwezesha kumaliza kazi yangu ya nyumbani SP(O) Comp.
father enabled me to finish my homework

3.35. (4) -an-Reciprocal

With minimal radicals this extension occurs as -an-, e.g. -kut- meet, -kutan- meet together. An extra vowel occurs in the Reciprocal extension to radicals of Arabic derivation, i.e. verbs with stem ending in -e, -i, or -u, e.g. -samehe forgive, -samehean- forgive one another; -shiriki share, -shirikian- co-operate; -jibu answer, -jibian- answer one another. Note also:; -dharau scorn, -dharaulian-scorn one another; -sahau forget, -sahaulian- forget one another.

Anaptyctic vowel -e- occurs between minimal radical -p- give, and extension -an-, viz. -pean-, as in walipeana mikono, they shook hands.

With minimal radical, the extension -an- occurs in the following syntactic environments:

3.36. (1) Plural Subject - No Complement

wamepatana sasa P A
they are reconciled now

wamerudiana tena P A
they have gone back to one another again

tunaonana kila siku P A
we meet every day

wanagombana bila sababu P A
they are quarrelling for no reason

3.37. (2) Plural Subject - Complement

walivutana nywele they pulled one another's hair	P C
walibadiliana kofia they exchanged hats	P C
walishikana mikono they held hands/shook hands	P C
waliagana buriani they exchanged farewells	P C

Note that in many instances mutual action with reference to a Complement is expressed by the combination of the Applicative and the Reciprocal extensions (See. p.   , para.   ), e.g.

waliendeana majumbani they went to one another's houses	P A

3.38. (3) Subject - Link Adjunct

With Link Adjunct the subject is either singular or plural according to the required meaning.

tulikutana na mwalimu barabarani we met the teacher on the road	P A A
nilipigana naye I fought with him	P A
ameachana na mkewe he has separated from his wife	P A
shamba lake limepakana na langu his field is adjacent to mine	S P A
Juma alishindana na uvivu wake Juma fought against his laziness	S P A

3.39. (4) Complement and Link Adjunct

This structure occurs if the Subject and the nominal or its referent of the Link Adjunct are animates, e.g.

kibarua alichukuliana mchanga na fundi mwashi S P C A
the labourer and the mason carried sand together

watoto wanasaidiana kulima na mama yao S P C A
the children and their mother are helping one another to cultivate

Here the nominal is fully expressed in the Link Adjunct, and the same meaning is expressed with a multiple subject, e.g.

kibarua huyu na fundi mwashi walichukuliana mchanga S P C
the labourer and the mason carried sand together

watoto na mama yao wanasaidiana kulima S P C
the children and their mother are helping one another to cultivate

With a nominal substitute in the Link Adjunct, the position of the Adjunct is fixed, e.g.

nalichukuliana naye mizigo P A C
Or, mimi na yeye tulichukuliana mizigo S P C
we carried one another's loads

340. (5) -ik- (-ik-, -ek-, -k-) Neuter Passive

This extension occurs as -ik- or -ek- with minimal radicals ending in a consonant or consisting of a consonant, e.g. -fut- wipe, -futik- be wiped; -som- read, -somek- be readable; -l- eat, -lik- be edible.

Minimal radicals ending in a vowel have either -k- or -lik- or both. When both occur, there is in some instances semantic distinction between the form with -k- and the form with -lik-, but there is no valid reason for regarding -lik- as anything but a single extension.

Verbs of Arabic origin with stem ending in -e or -i or -u have the extension -ek- or -ik- with suffix -a, e.g. -sifu praise,

-sifika be praised; -hitaji, need, -hitajika be needed; -samehe forgive, -sameheka be forgivable. The stems -dharau scorn, and -sahau forget, have Neuter Passives -dharaulika be scorned, and -sahaulika be forgotten.

The syntactic environments of extension -ik- are not dependent upon its function as a neuter passive, stative or potential extension. The classification is not according to meaning, but the meanings have to be observed.

341. (1) Object Prohibited

In previous descriptions of the Neuter Passive modification of meaning has been attributed only to the extension, but a verb with given extension may be modified in meaning according to the tense, e.g.

wanyama hawa wamefugika these animals have been tamed/are tamed	S P	-fug-
wanyama hawa wanafugika these animals are tamable	S P	
mlango huu ulifungika this door was shut, i.e. it was a shut door	S P	-fung-
mlango huu unafungika this door is closable, i.e. it can be shut	S P	

This distinction of meaning according to the tense is not operable for all verbs, and there is no formal way of distinguishing verbs having this distinction from those which do not, e.g.

madini haya yalifulika this metal was workable	S P	-fu-
madini haya yanafulika this metal is workable	S P	
kitabu chenyewe kilisomeka the book itself was readable	S P	-som-
kitabu hiki kinasomeka this book is readable	S P	

Further examples:

anaitika he is answering Or, he can be called/he is callable	P	-it-
mahali hapo panajika that place is accessible	S P	-j-
chakula hiki kinalika this food is eatable	S P	-l-
Juma hakadiriki Juma has no moderation/is not calculable	S P	-kadiri
kusi imekatika the south monsoon is coming to an end, i.e. is being cut off	S P	-kat-
nguo hii imekunjika this cloth is creased	S P	-kunj-
nguo hii haikunjiki this cloth is not creasable	S P	
maneno yako yalifahamika your words were understandable	S P	-fahamu
Juma alifedheheka Juma was ashamed	S P	-fedhehi
mkate uligawika the bread was divided up	S P	-gaw-
nchi ile inaendeka that country is visitable	S P	-end-

In verbs with radical extended by -k- or by -lik- the form with -lik- expresses the potential aspect of the process, e.g.

mpira unapasuka the ball is bursting/splitting	S P	-pasu-
mpira huu unapasulika this ball is burstable/it bursts easily	S P	
kitambaa kiliraruka the cloth was torn	S P	-raru-
kitambaa kilirarulika the cloth was tearable/easily torn	S P	

3.42. (2) With Link Adjunct

The use of a modifying Adjunct to the verb in all verbs of the above section is optional. Generally this extension excludes the use of a link Adjunct, a factor which distinguishes verbs with the -ik- extension from passives in -w-, but with some verbs having -ik- a link Adjunct is employed, e.g.

Juma amehusika na mambo haya S P A -husu
Juma is concerned in these matters

Compare with the passive:

Juma amehusiwa na watu hawa
Juma is related to these people

Again:

maneno yake yalifahamika na sote S P A -fahamu
his words were understandable by us all
Link Adjunct is optional

Compare with the passive:

maneno yake yalifahamiwa na sote S P A
his words were understood by all of us

Again:

nyumba hii inakalika na majini tu S P A -ka-
this house is inhabitable only by spirits
Link Adjunct is optional

With the passive:

nyumba hii inakaliwa na majini tu S P A
this house is lived in only by spirits

In some instances the distinction between the potential aspect of the form with -ik- and the passive meaning with -w- or its allophones is lost in the English translation, e.g.

sifa zake zinajulika na watu wote S P A -ju-
and sifa zake zinajuliwa na watu wote S P A
his character is recognized by everyone

The first sentence is translatable by: His character is knowable by everyone, but the two sentences are also synonymous. This double function of the form with -ik- has already been observed with reference to a distinction of tense, e.g.

mlango ulifungika S P
the door was shut

Cf.

mlango ulifungwa
the door was shut

ulifungwa na Ali P A
it was shut by Ali

mlango unafungika S P
the door is closable

But with this verb the use of a Link Adjunct is not permissible with the verb having extension -ik-; only a modifying Adjunct is used, e.g.

mlango ulifungika kwa nguvu S P A
the door was shut hard

mlango unafungika kwa bisibisi S P A
the door is closable with a screwdriver

Cf. with passive:

mlango ulifungwa kwa nguvu na Ali
the door was shut hard by Ali

mlango unafungwa kwa ufunguo
a door is shut with a key

mlango unafungwa kwa ufunguo na Ali
the door is being shut with a key by Ali

With some verbs therefore, the formal distinction between the Neuter Passive in -ik- and the Passive in -w- is not reflected in the meaning, but this occurs infrequently.

3.43. (3) With Object

The occurrence of Object with a passive is anomalous, but there are eccentric forms with extension -ik- and extension -w- relating to Object, e.g.

walimwelewa vema Waziri wao they understood their Minister well	A O	-ele-
tuliukandika ukuta mzima kwa udongo we plastered the whole wall with mud	P O A	-kand-

Such occurrences are infrequent with verbs of which the radical actually occurs in the language. A number of verbs with minimal radical a starred form, i.e., it does not occur as a minimal radical, occur with extension -ik- and relate to Object. They also have a passive in -w- of the form in -ik, e.g.

aliyafunika mayai kwa kitambaa he covered the eggs with a cloth	P O A
Cf. mayai yalifunikwa kwa kitambaa the eggs were covered with a cloth	S P A
alizibandika stampu mojamoja he stuck the stamps on one by one	P O A
Cf. stampu zilibandikwa mojamoja the stamps were stuck on one by one	S P A

Note that radical -va- wear, has a dual process with extensions, the regular one by introducing -l-, e.g. -vali-, -valish-, -valik-, and the irregular one by building extensions on the base -v-, i.e. with -a- omitted, as follows:

alimvika nguo nzuri he provided her with beautiful clothes/dressed her in	P O C	Neuter Passive
alimvisha mtoto nguo mpya she dressed the child in a new cloth	P O C	Causative
alivua nguo zake he took his clothes off	P O	Reversive
mshipi wake umemvuka his girdle has come off him	S P(O)	Neuter Passive of Reversive

Note that with radical -*it*- the forms with -*ik*- have meanings not easily relatable to the meaning of the radical, e.g.

aliita he called	P	-*it*-
aliitika he replied	P	
alimwitika he answered him	P(O)	

The form in -*ik*- has no passive in -*w*, but note -*iki*- and -*ikiw*-; combinations of Neuter Passive and Applicative, and of Neuter Passive, Applicative and Passive:

Juma aliniitikia

Juma agreed with me

niliitikiwa na Juma

I was supported by Juma

3.44. (6) -*u*- (-*u*-, -*o*-) Reversive

This extension occurs only with radicals ending in a consonant. Vowel -*u*- in -*beu*- scorn, -*cheu*- ruminate, -*deu*- take off as pot from fire, -*eu*- purify, -*geu*- change, -*keu*- straighten a pole, -*teu*- select, is in each instance a radical vowel and cannot be said to relate to a starred form since the preceding syllable, e.g. -*be*-, -*che*-, etc. does not occur with separable extensions. The extension -*u*- does occur as an extension of starred forms, e.g. -*anu*- take out of the sun or rain, cf. -*anik*- expose to sun, -*funu*- uncover, cf. -*funik*- cover, -*inu*- lift up, cf. -*inam*- bend down, -*inik*- let hang down. The starred forms -*an*-, -*fun*- and -*in*- do not occur as minimal radicals.

Radicals consisting of a consonant do not have this extension, but note reduplicated radical -*fufu*- come alive, cf. -*f*- die. The radical

-*chw*- set (of sun) has previously been classified as the Reversive of -*ch*- dawn. Johnson used the term Conversive for Reversive. These two forms, -*ch*- and -*chw*-, are distinct radicals in which -*ch*- relates comparatively and historically to different consonants.

Radicals ending in vowel -*u*- or -*o*- must not be confused with radicals having the extension -*u*- or -*o*-, e.g. -*fu*- beat, hammer, is not the reversive of -*f*- die, because there is no association of meaning; -*po*- become cool, is not the reversive of -*p*- give, for the same reason. Although the occurrence of an extension may modify the meaning of the radical considerably, it is only a modification of meaning, not a different meaning altogether. This is an important function of meaning in radicals, that a completely different meaning distinguishes one radical from another. Having established what the radicals are, the modification of meaning by the use of an extension is a secondary factor. Radicals such as -*chuku*- carry, or -*bomo*- pull down, are minimal radicals, since -*chuk*- and -*bom*- are not even starred forms.

The title, "Reversive" has been employed by some grammarians to indicate that the extension -*u*- reverses the meaning of the minimal radical, e.g. -*fung*- shut, -*fungu*- open. It has also been noted that some Reversives intensify the verbal action. Such references to the semantic function of this extension imply an easily identifiable modification of meaning of the radical, but although in general the function of the extension is observable, the meaning is also heavily dependent upon the syntactic and semantic environment of the verb.

The syntactic environments of verbs with extension -*u*- are as follows:

3.45. (1) P (Obligatory Object)

This is the main environment, Object-infix of Cl 1/2 is obligatory, but when the Object is expounded by a nominal group of any other class the use of an object-infix is optional, and it is usually omitted. Because of the close relationship between verb and nominal in sentences of this type, the optional use of object-infix is an important criterion for distinguishing between P O and PP, e.g.

aliufungua mlango P +O -fung- close
Cf. alifungua mlango P +O
he opened the door

Cf. alifungua kinywa PP
he broke his fast

alimwepua rafiki yake hatarini P +O A . -ep- avoid
he removed his friend from danger

mganga alizindua Binti Ali S P +O -zind- stick fast
the medicine man set Ali's daughter free from the spell

alizimua siki P +O -zim- quench
he diluted the vinegar

tulitandua tanga P +O -tand- spread out
we rolled up the sail or, we ended the mourning

alinipakua P (+O) -pak- apply
he made love to me

anaangua nazi P +O -ang- be suspended
he is throwing down coconuts

akili zilimpungua S P (+O) -pung- decrease
he has lost his wits

amefunua siri za watu P +O -fun-
he has revealed people's secrets

tutainua bendera yetu P +O -in-
we will raise our flag

3.46 (2) P (Optional Object)

The term 'Optional Object' is not to be confused with the optional use of object-infix. In the following sentences a verb with the same stem occurs either with or without an Object:

Juma atapakua S P -pak- apply
Juma will dish up

Juma atapakua chakula S P O
Juma will dish up the food

wanachimbua karibu na kwetu they are mining near our home	P A	-chimb- die
wanachimbua makaa they are mining coal	P O	
hadithi hii inasisimua this story is exciting	S P	-sisim- startle
hadithi ile ilitusisimua that story is exciting	S P(O)	

3.47. (3) P (Prohibited Object)

Only a few instances have been observed of a verb with extension -u- occurring in a context where Object is prohibited. In different contexts, of course, a verb with the same stem has a different, but not alternate, environment.

upepo umepungua the wind has diminished	S P	-pung- decrease, of sun's heat
jua limechomoa the sun has come out	S P	-chom- pierce
maua yamefumua the flowers have come out	S P	-fum- weave, knit

3.48. (7) -am- (-am-, -m-) Static

The title 'Static' was adopted by other writers as a notional title for this extension, but not all verbs with -am- express "a stationary or inactive condition" (see Ashton, p. 236). This extension is used only with a comparatively small number of minimal radicals. The allophone -m- occurs with a minimal radical ending in a vowel, e.g. -kwam- become jammed, cf. -kwa- stumble.

The syntactic environments:

3.49. (1) P O

Verbs with extension -am- relate to Object only of Cl. 1/2, e.g.

alimwandama rafiki yake he accompanied his friend	P O	-anda- prepare
maneno yake yamenisakamamoyoni his words have rankled in my heart	S P(O) A	-sak- trap

usingizi uliniparama sleep left me, i.e. went up from me	S P(O)	-par- ascend

Also,

usingizi ulinipaa

Johnson gives -par- and -pa- as alternates with the meaning 'scrape', but they are also alternates with the meaning 'go up, ascend'.

3.50. (2) P C

The nominal group has no object-infix representing it in the verb, and is not the component of PP, e.g.

aliinama kichwa he bowed his head	P C	-in-
amefumbama akili zake he is not in his right mind	P C	-fumb- shut
njia nyingine imekingama njia ya mbele another path cuts across the road in front.	S P C	-king- check, stop

3.51. (3) P (Object Prohibited)

The use of A is optional with verbs of this type, e.g.

asali imegandama the honey is stuck/coagulated	S P	-gand- get thick
asali imegandama na bakuli the honey is stuck to the bowl	S P A	
mnyama amesakama an animal has got trapped	S P	-sak- trap
mnyama amesakama katika nyavu an animal has got trapped in the nets	S P A	
mwezi umeandama the new moon has begun	S P	-anda- prepare
aliangama mtini he was suspended in the tree	P A	-ang- be suspended
ukuta huu umeinama this wall is sloping downwards	S P	-in-

3.52. (8) -at- (-at-, -t-) Contactive

The extension -at- occurs only with indigenous Bantu stems. It is of a comparatively limited range of use with minimal radicals and has probably ceased to be operative with radicals in borrowings from another language. This applies also to extension -am-. Neither -at- nor -am- occurs with a radical of Arabic origin. From this we imply that these two extensions are no longer capable of junction with borrowed radicals.

A fairly common feature of Bantu radicals is the reduplication of consonant-vowel, e.g. -zizim- become cool, -tutuk- swell, -totor- pick the teeth, etc. This occurs in forms with final -t- in the radical. In some instances the -t- is an extension, but in most instances it is not, e.g. -kokot- drag, haul-koko- collect together in a heap; -pepet- sift, -pepe- fan (Applic. of -pep- sway, stagger), but -kukut- shake off water, -kakat- ache, -gogot- knock at, tap. Historically these are all most probably very early forms.

The association of meaning between the minimal and the extended radical is not always easy to establish when the extension is either -at- or -am-. In some instances it is clear enough, but not as a regular process. There may be historical reasons for this. For example, -fu- beat, hammer, -fuam- lie face down with buttocks raised, -fuat- follow. It would be easy to say that the semantic difference here establishes that -fu- is not related to the other two forms, but this is not a unique instance of what occurs in early forms, and we prefer to classify -am- and -at- in such forms as extensions of the -fu- term which actually occurs, and not extensions of a starred form. This might be considered arbitrary, and with any other extensions it is certainly not allowable, but with these early forms allowance must be made for probable historical change of meaning.

The syntactic environments of verb with extension -at- are as follows:

3.53. P O Obligatory

alimkamata mwizi P O -kam- squeeze
he caught/arrested the thief

alimpakata mtoto P O -pak- spread
he put the child on his lap

aliyakokota mawe P O -koko- collect together
he hauled the stones

alimfumbata kiunoni P(O)A -fumb- close
he put his arms round her waist

The verbs -ambat- cling to, adhere to, -kumbat- embrace, do not, without an extra extension, relate to O, e.g. alimwambatia he clung to her; alimkumbatia he embraced her. Most verbs with extension -at- relate to obligatory Object, as above, but compare:

alimfuata mwalimu P O -fu-
he followed the teacher

alifuata P
he followed
Here the Object is deleted.

ulimi wangu uliambata kaakaani S P +A -amb- adhere
my tongue stuck to my palate

Here the verb is in obligatory Object to Adjunct - a rare pattern with verbs of this type.

The occurrence of PP is rare with verbs having extension -at-, but note:

alikokota roho PP
he breathed with difficulty

alikokota meneno PP
he spoke inarticulately (he drawled in his speech)

alikokota kazi PP
he worked slowly

3.54 Eccentric Extensions

For a single extension to be related to a minimal radical there must be a semantic relationship either by identification or modification of the meaning of the simple radical. For example, -*pak*- and -*paka*- both mean 'apply, lay on, spread'. The extension -*a*- is morphologically an extension, but has no semantic function. It is classified as an eccentric extension. Extensions are built on each form, -*pak*- and -*paka*-, but we do not include extension -*a*- as an operative extension in setting out the extensions. Compare -*anda*- prepare, arrange, which has no minimal radical -*and*- except with other extensions, e.g. -*andik*- set in order, write. In this case, -*anda*- is classified as a radical with an eccentric extension even though -*and*- does not actually occur. It is a starred form. Compare again -*chaka*- become old, and -*chakach*- rustle, as of grass. There is no relationship of meaning, so these are distinct forms. The radical -*chaka*- is classified as minimal, but the occurrence of -*chakarish*- or -*chakalish*- rustle, stir up, makes it necessary to postulate a starred form -*chaka*- relating to -*chakach*- and -*chakarish*-. A minimal radical -*chaka*- which occurs, and a starred form -*chaka*- are recorded; but once again -*ch*- in -*chakach*- is an inoperative extension since it cannot be associated with other extensions of the same shape. Semantically -*chakach*- is a minimal form, but -*chakaz*- wear out from -*chaka*- become old, is not. Morphologically both forms have an extension, one an eccentric extension, -*chakach*-, the other with a regular causative extension, as in -*chakaz*-. A form like -*nyama*- be silent, has no extensions relating to a starred form -*nyam*-, so -*nyama*- is classified as a minimal radical.

This analysis shows that it is not possible to list all radicals ending in -a- as if each of them belonged to exactly the same category. The postulation of a starred form is an arbitrary procedure in some instances, because the relationship of meaning between occurring forms is not always clearly established. For instance, -chemk-

or -chemuk- boil, bubble up, cf. -chemu- sneeze. Are these related forms? In view of the disparity of meaning by the introduction of some acknowledged extensions, it may be equally arbitrary to state in connection with these forms that they are not related. If the relationship is accepted, then -chem- is classified as a starred form, and the extensions are the Reversive and the Neuter Passive.

The extension -n-

3.55. Some radicals ending in a vowel occur with extension -n-, e.g. -fa- be good of its kind, suit, -fan- be successful; -chu- rub, chafe, -chun- scrape skin off; -po- become cool, -pon- cure; -sono- grieve, hurt, -sonon- be sorry, grieve.

The meaning of the extended form is not the same as the minimal form, but a specific meaning is not attributable to the extension. Since it occurs only with radicals ending in a vowel, it is not generally operative and so is classified as eccentric.

The extension -any-

3.56. The extension -any- must be distinguished from the multiple extension -ny-, as in -fany- make, do, which is the causative of -fan- from -fa-. In Swahili the single extension -any- occurs, but is classified as an eccentric extension because its operative range is restricted to comparatively few verbs, e.g. -chang- put together, collect, -changany- mix; -kus- (Causative of -kut-) involve in, bring upon, -kusany- collect, gather together. In other disyllabic forms, -any- cannot be related to a minimal radical, so that the disyllable is classified as a minimal radical, e.g. -nyangany- rob, plunder, -tapany- scatter about, disperse, -tawany- scatter abroad.

3.57. Pseudo-extensions occur and the principles already outlined distinguish them from true extensions. For example:

-kanyag-	tread on
-korog-	stir up
-titig-	hit

Here -ag-, -og-,-ig- are not true extensions, because there is no minimal radical which they can be said to extend. Such forms have to do with the shape of the radical in Swahili, and not with the treatment of extensions.

Multiple Extensions

3.58. A minimal radical may have more than one extension. The last extension of the combination establishes the syntactic behavior of the verb. Since every minimal radical has its own particular capacity to associate with a range of multiple extensions, it is not possible to predict the extensions of any given radical. A detailed description of the extensions occurring with each minimal radical in the language belongs to the dictionary, but in a grammar it is necessary to list and exemplify the multiple extensions that occur.

While the general system of extensions is well established, in the urban areas of East Africa where Swahili is spoken by Africans as a second language there is a great deal of innovation in the longer combinations of extensions. Informants differ as to the validity of certain forms, some of which occur through the influence of corresponding forms in the tribal languages. Generally speaking, first Swahili speakers have very little doubt as to what forms are valid for them, and it is these which are exemplified below. In exemplifying the combinations, it must be understood that a given extension is valid only for those radicals with which it occurs. For reasons of space, the examples are restricted, but each sentence is typical of other similar occurrences, even if the combination does not occur with all minimal radicals.

3.59. The numbers given to the extensions correspond to the numbering in the previous section, as follows:

1. -w- Passive
2. -i- Applicative
3. -y- (different) Causative
4. -an- Reciprocal
5. -ik- Neuter Passive
6. -u- Reversive
7. -am- Static
8. Contactive

3.60. Illustrative Uses of Multiple Extensions:

2/1 -i- -w-

Sentences with Object are statable in the passive. This applies whatever the extensions are.

tulipikiwa chakula na Hamisi P C A -pik-
we had food cooked for us by Hamisi

aliibiwa jembe P C -ib-
he had a hoe stolen

2/2 -i- -li-

Reduplicated Applicative occurs as -ili- or -ele- and usually intensifies the meaning of the minimal radical.

hasara iliwafikilia S P (+O) -fik-
loss overtook them

nchi yetu inaendelea vizuri S P A -end-
our country is progressing well

2/2/3 -i- -li- -y- (diff.)

Occurs as -iliz-, -elez-, -ilish-, -elesh-

nitaendeleza neno lile P +O -end-
I will spell that word

anawapatiliza kwa makosa yao P (+O) -pat-
he is remembering them for their faults, i.e. punishing them, blaming them

wanapaliliza ugomvi P +O -pa-
they are stirring up strife

Separable extensions must be distinguished from syllables of the same shape which are part of a minimal radical. Similarly, combinations of the same apparent shape are not in every instance the same combination. Note:

alipeleleza siri zetu P O -pelelez-
he spied out our secrets

There is no radical -pel- from which -elez- can be separated. The minimal radical is -pelelez-.

Note further extensions of the same combination:

2/2/3/1 -i- -li- -y- -w-

maneno yaliendelezwa na mwalimu S P A -end-
the words were spelt by the teacher

ugomvi ulipalilizwa na wageni S P A -pa-
strife was stirred up by strangers

2/2/3/2 -i- -li- -y- -i-

Object obligatory, e.g.

nitakuendelezea neno hili P (+O) -end-
I will spell this word for you

wanatupalilizia ugomvi P (+O) C -pa-
they are stirring up strife for us

In sentences with O in which the last or the only extension is Causative, these two extensions, Applicative and Passive, occur as a general process.

In the longer extensions it is generally possible to add up the semantic value of each extension of the combination, but in some instances it is not possible to attribute to each extension a semantic value resulting in the meaning of the whole form. In either case the translation in English may not eaxily be identifiable with the particular extension, and some different combinations have the same meaning, e.g.

2/2/4

wanapakiliana matofali P C -pak-
they are piling up bricks for one another

2/2/3/4

wanapakilizana matofali P C -pak-
they are piling up bricks for one another

It is for this type of combination with four extensions that differences of opinion exist as to the validity and meaning of certain forms.

2/2/5 -i-, -li-, -ik

makosa haya yanaachilika S P -ach-
these faults are excusable

mahali hapa panaogeleka S P -og-
it is possible to swim at this place

2/3 does not occur.

2/4 -i-, -an-

wale watu huchukuliana wake S P C -chuku-
these people take/steal one another's wives

tukisafiri tunaachiana nyumba zetu P P C -ach-
when we journey we look after each other's houses

2/5 -i-, -ik, does not occur.

There are two extensions of the Neuter Passive (5), and each is a single extension, e.g.

ukuta umebomoka S P -bomo-
the wall has collapsed

ukuta huu unabomoleka S P -bomo-
this wall can be pulled down

Extensions -k- and -lek- are both single extensions.

3/1 -y-, -w-

alionywa na mkuu wake P A -on-
he was warned by his elder

watoto walisomeshwa na mwalimu S P A -som-
the children were taught by the teacher

3/2 -y- -i-

serikali walituturudishia mashamba yetu S P(+O) C -rud-(-i)
the government gave us back our plantations

baba aliniagizia saa S P (+O) C -ag-
father ordered a watch for me

3/2/1 -y- -i- -w-

niliagiziwa saa na baba P C A -ag-
I had my father order me a watch

3/3/ -y- -y-

alionyesha uhodari wake P O -on-
he showed his bravery

alimlishisha sumu P O -l-
Or, alimlishiza sumu P O
he administered poison to him

3/3/1 -y- -y- -w-

alionyeshwa ile picha P C -on-
he was shown the picture

3/3/2 -y- -y- -i-

nimemwonyeshea Juma mwanawe kwa mwalimu P O C A -on-
I have shown his (Juma's) child to the teacher for Juma

3/3/2/1 -y- -y- -i- -w-

Juma alionyeshewa mwanawe kwa mwalimu S P C A -on-
Juma had his child shown to the teacher

3/3/4 -y- -y- -an-

walionyeshana foto P C -on-
they showed photos to one another

3/3/5 -y- -y- -ik-

foto hii inaonyesheka S P -on-
this photo is showable

3/4/ -y- -an-

walisemezana kwa muda mrefu P A -sem-
they spoke together for a long time

tulionyana kwa siri P A -on-
we warned each other secretly

walinong'onezana P -nong'on-
they whispered to one another

3/5 -y- -ik-

hesabu imeongezeka S P -onge-
the number has increased

Juma anasemezeka S P
Juma is amenable to persuasion, i.e. he can be talked to

Alternatively -onge- can be classified as the Applicative of a starred form, -ong-, in which case the above verb with this radical illustrates 2/3/5. This is a less likely interpretation since it would mean classifying -ongo-guide, in the same way, but -ongo- is one of a series of radicals ending in a vowel of the same quality as the preceding vowel, and these do not usually relate to a starred form.

4/1 -an- -w- does not occur, but note:

ametukanwa na marafiki zake
he has been abused/insulted by his friends

The form -tukan- cannot be broken down, and so is classified as a minimal radical.

4/2 -an- -i-

anapigania haki P +C -pig-
he is fighting for justice

wanashindania Kombe la Gossage P +C -shind-
they are competing for the Gossage Cup

Obligatory relationship to C, cf.

anatupigania P (+O)
he is fighting for us/on our behalf

anatupigania haki P (+0) C
he is fighting for our rights

If Object occurs, relationship to C is not obligatory.

4/2/1 -an- -i- -w-

alifumaniwa na mwanamke P A -fum-
he was found in flagrante delictio

4/3 -an- -y-

fitina zake zitatuachanisha S P(+0) -ach-
his intrigues will separate us

alifunganisha zizigo P +0 -fung-
he fastened the loads together

4/3/1 -an- -y- -w-

waliachanishwa kwa talaka P A -ach-
they were separated by a divorce

4/4 -an- -an-

tukitaka kitu tunaombanana P 0/P -omb-
if we want something we are capable of begging from each other

4/5 -an- -ik-

vibarua hupatanika saa zozote S P A -pat-
labourers are available at all times

vitu hivi vinafunganika pamoja S P A -fung-
these things can be tied up together

4/2/4 -an- -i- -an-

tunashindaniana tuzo P C -shind-
we are struggling for a reward

4/6 -an- -u-

tulichanganua ile dawa P 0 -chang-
we analysed the medicine

5/1 -ik- -w-

alitokwa na damu P +A -to-
he shed blood
Obligatory relationship to A, and restatable as follows:

damu ilimtoka S P(O)
he shed blood

kikapu kilifunikwa nguo S P C -fun-
the basket was covered with a cloth
Relationship to A, or alternatively to link Adjunct, is not obligatory

5/2 -ik- -i-

paliondokea mzee mmoja. . . P C -ondo-
there was once an old person. . .

tulitokea mlango ule P +A -to-
we came out by that door
Obligatory relationship to A. Compare with -i- deleted:

tulitoka kwa mlango ule P A
we came out by that door

alitutokea kwa ghafula P (O) A
he came upon us suddenly

tuliitokea nyumba ya Ali P O
we came upon Ali's house

5/2/1 -ik- -i- -w-

tulitokewa na jinni P A
a spirit appeared to us

tumeandikiwa barua nyingi P C -and-
many letters have been written to us

Note:
ukungu umetoweka S P -to-
the fog has cleared/disappeared
The extension is 5 only, and not 1/5.

5/2/2/1 -ik- -ili- -w-

nilitokelewa na mgeni P A -to-
I was unexpectedly visited by a stranger

5/2/2/3 -ik- -ili- -y-

wageni walitutokeleza S P -to-
strangers unexpectedly came upon us

5/2/4 -ik- -i- -an-

tuliandikiana barua P C -and-
we wrote letters to one another

5/3 -ik- -y-

jino hili linatokeza nje S P A -to-
this tooth is forcing its way out

tuliwaandikisha wafanyi kazi P O -and-
we registered the workers

5/3/1 -ik- -y- -w-

majina yaliandikishwa S P
the names were registered

5/3/2 -ik- -y- -i-

alituandikishia majina yetu P (+O) C
he registered our names for us

5/3/2/4 -ik- -y- -i- -an-

tuliandikishiana majina P C
we registered the names for one another

5/4 -ik- -an-

mchele umekosekana mwaka huu S P A -kos-
rice has not been obtainable this year

mchele unapatikana sokoni S P A
rice is obtainable at the market

5/5 -ik- -ik-

kitambaa hiki kinabandukika S P -band-
this bandage can be stripped off
Or, it is possible to strip off this bandage

jambo lile linapingikika it is possible to oppose that matter	S P	-ping-

6/1 -u- -liw-

nguo hizi zilikunjuliwa na Aisha these clothes were unfolded by Aisha	S P A	-kunj-
nazi nyingi zimeanguliwa leo many coconuts have been thrown down today	S P A	-ang-

6/2 -u- -lu-

alinifungulia mzigo wangu he unfastened my load for me	P (+C) C	-fung-

Obligatory relationship to Object. This combination occurs also in verbs with optional Object, and therefore no Complement, e.g.

alichungulia ndani he peeped inside	P A	-chung-
alimchungulia mwenziwe he glanced at his companion	P O	
alitangulia he took the lead	P	-tang-
alimtangulia mwenziwe he preceded his companion	P O	

It has already been noted that the semantic function of extension -u- is heavily dependent upon the semantic and syntactic environment. Both the reversal of meaning of the minimal radical and the intensive meaning have to be taken into account, e.g. -chung- tend, take care of, sift, -chunguli- look into, examine, inspect closely, peep at. Here the modification of meaning is intensive. Again, -tang- go to and fro, dawdle, stroll about, -tanga- to spread abroad, be in vogue, be current. The form -tangu- abolish, annul is probably related to -tang-, but the corresponding extension with only -u- of this radical does not occur, i.e. it is an empty slot.

6/2/4 -u- -li- -an-

wanachukuliana mizigo P C -chuku-
they are carrying loads for one another

Cf. wanachukuana P
they are lovers

6/3 -u- -y-

alichunguza habari ile P O -chung-
he researched that information/looked into it

alipunguza bei P O -pung-
he reduced the price

This extension in -z- is the usual form of the Causative in this combination, but an alternative in -lish- occurs with some verbs, e.g. -julish- or -juz- make known, -puliz- or -puz- blow with mouth, fill with air.

6/3/2 -u- -y- -i-

alitupunguzia bei ya nyumba P(+O) C -pung-
he lessened the price of the house for us

6/3/2/1 -u- -y- -i- -w-

tulipunguziwa bei P C
we had the price decreased for us

6/3/1 -u- -y- -w-

bei ilipunguzwa S P
the price was lowered/decreased

6/3/4 -u- -y- -an-

watoto waliangushana S P -ang-
the children threw one another down

6/4 does not occur

6/5 -u- -lik-

mlango umefunguka S P -fung-
the door is open (Stative)

mlango umefungulika S P
the door is openable (Potential)

These are variants of 6/5, just as there are variants of 6/3.

6/5/3 -u- -ik- -y-

alimwambukiza ndui P(O) C -amb-
he infected him with smallpox

6/5/3/1 -u- -ik- -y- -w-

aliambukizwa ndui P C
he was infected with smallpox

6/5/3/4 -u- -ik- -y- -an-

waliambukizana P
they infected one another

7/1 -am- -i-

alimwinamia mzee P +O -in-
he bowed to the old person

aliandamia ukuta P +O -anda-
he clung to the wall

7/2 -am- -w-

niligandamwa na kupe P A -gand-
I had ticks sticking to me

7/2/1 -am- -i- -w-

aliinamiwa vichwa P C -in-
he had heads bowed down to him/he was bowed down to

7/3 -am- -y-

alinigandamiza chini P (+O) A -gand-
he pinned me to the ground

aliandamiza njia ile P +O -and-
he took that path

7/3/1 -am- -y- -w-

niligandamizwa chini P A -and-
I was pinned to the ground

7/4 -am- -an-

maji yamegandamana S P
the water is frozen

mwitu huu umefungamana S P -fung-
this forest is impenetrable

aliandamana na wakubwa P A -anda-
he associated with important people

7/5 -am- -ik-

anaandamika P -anda-
he is followable/he can be associated with

8/1 -at- -w-

mtoto alipakatwa na mamaye S P A -pak-
the child was held in the lap by his mother

8/2 -at- -i-

alimkumbatia mwanawe P +O -kumb-
he embraced his son

8/3 -at- -y-

alikamatisha ngazi P +O -kam-
he got hold of the ladder

Also 8/3/1 and 8/3/2 occur.

8/5 -at- -ik-

kamba ile inafumbatika S P -fumb-
that rope can be grasped

3.61. *Imperative (Imp)*. The term 'imperative' is used in Swahili grammars to refer to any construction which expresses a positive or negative command, but here it is given formal definition as a verb-form with no subject-prefix and which expresses a command. In relation to the general paradigm of the Swahili verb these are unique forms, not only because of the absence of the subject-prefix but also because their use is restricted contextually to forms of command. This is why passives and regular neuter-passives do not occur as imperatives, but they express a command as P in the subjunctive tense, e.g.:

mtoto huyu atulizwe let this child be pacified	S P
tuliza mtoto huyu pacify this child	Imp O

Imperatives occur as verbal interjections. The only other syntactic unit to which they relate is Adjunct. These are the forms: *njoo* come!, *njooni* come! (pl), *nenda* go!, *nendeni* go! (pl). Other Imperatives relate to O, C and/or A, and so obviously have predicative function. Since the component of Predicate is a verb with subject-prefix, imperatives have to be distinguished in the representation of the structure from P, and so are indicated by the abbreviation Imp.

The difference between P and Imp is indicated further by the fact that the relationships of P to O do not correspond with those of Imp to O; verbs that as P are in obligatory relationship to O operate as Imp without the obligatory relationship, e.g.:

alitoa pesa zake — P O
he took out his money

toa pesa zake — Imp O
take out your money

toa — Imp
take (it) out

Without O the form alitoa occurs only in response pattern, see Ch. 3.19.

In addressing one person the stem of the verb is employed for the positive Imp with no modification of the suffixal vowel, except in the eccentric form lete bring (it)!, cf. -leta bring. The corresponding negative is not by our definition an imperative, but a verb of the subjunctive tense which in 2nd person expresses a negative command, e.g.:

usitoe pesa zako — P O
don't take your money out

In addressing more than one person the extra suffix -ini is used, and coalescence or elision occurs of the suffix of the stem and the initial vowel of -ini, e.g.:

-ondoka	ondokeni leave! (pl)	Imp	msiondoke do not leave! (pl)	P
-rudi	rudini come back!	Imp (pl)	msirudi don't come back! (pl)	P

Imp occurs frequently with object-prefix. Suffix -a of the stem is modified to -e. This is a distinct form from second person subjunctive with object-infix, though in the grammars these forms are often presented as the same form with subject-prefix zero in the form we refer to as Imp. In certain contexts they are semantically the same, but they are different structures. Imp with object-prefix takes the extra suffix -ini, but subjunctives in second person do not, e.g.:

mfunge tie him up	(0) Imp	umfunge tie him up	(0) P	usimfunge don't tie him up	(0) P
mfungeni tie him up (pl)	(0) Imp	mumfunge tie him up (pl)	(0) P	msimfunge don't tie him up (pl)	(0) P

Extra suffix -ini occurs in first person pl. subjunctive and in declarative forms, e.g., twendeni let us go, tuondokeni let us leave, nakuambieni I tell you (as individuals), nawaambieni I tell you (as a group).

Imp is not necessarily a less polite mode of address than the subjunctive, for much depends on the tone of voice and upon the particular circumstances. In some instances, Imp and P have the same shape, and only the context serves to distinguish them, e.g.:

mpeleke send him	(0) Imp	mpeleke send (pl)	P
watafute look for them	(0) Imp	watafute let them search, look for	P
waite call them	(0) Imp	waite let them call	P

Monosyllabic stems do not occur as Imp, but only as subjunctives to expound P in commands or requests. The plural forms take extra suffix -ini as an alternate, e.g., mle or mleni eat (pl), mnywe or mnyweni drink (pl). Note also the eccentric use of the infinitive of -l- eat: kula eat!, kuleni eat! (pl). The verb -p- give, occurs as Imp only with object-prefix and complement, e.g.:

nipe give (it, them) to me!	(0) Imp	nipe barua yangu give me my letter	(0) Imp C

3.62. *Consecutive Commands*. A consecutive command whether it is P or Imp is a type of consecutive clause, and its marker is the affix -*ka*-. In the dialect of Zanzibar town, Kiunguja, the affix -*ki*- is an alternative, but this is used only rarely in standard Swahili as a consecutive affix.

There are four patterns occurring in consecutive commands and these are illustrated by the Swahili equivalent of the English sentence 'Go and look for work'. The (a) sentences are addressed to one person and the (b) sentences to more than one person:

Imp/Imp	(a)	*nenda katafute kazi* or *nenda katafuta kazi*
	(b)	*nendeni katafuteni kazi*
Imp/P	(a)	*nenda ukatafute kazi*
	(b)	*nendeni mkatafute kazi*
P/Imp	(a)	*uende katafute kazi*
	(b)	*mwende katafuteni kazi*
P/P	(a)	*uende ukatafute kazi*
	(b)	*mwende mkatafute kazi*

Negative Imp is rarely used in standard, but occurs quite frequently in dialect, both in the dialects of Mombasa and of Zanzibar town, e.g.:

siende or *sende* don't go	*siendeni* don't go (pl)
sivuke don't cross	*sivukeni* don't cross (pl)

The negative of the subjunctive is generally used to express negative commands, and the initial negative serves to negate the consecutive action. An initial negative command can be followed by a grammatically positive consecutive clause, e.g.:

usiende ukatafute kazi
don't go and look for work

Alternatively a verbo-nominal is used in place of the consecutive verb, and this is classified as its substitute in a sub-category of such clauses rather than as part of the verb phrase, e.g.:

usiende katafuta kazi
don't go and look for work

It often occurs that a verbo-nominal is a substitute for a verbal in clause structure. The same surface structure may relate to a different sentence in deep structure, however, and this is true of the last Swahili sentence. Compare:

usiende kutafuta kazi ila kwa kujitembeza tu
don't go to look for work but just to give yourself a trip

Here *kutafuta kazi* is substitute for a conditioning clause, as in *usiende ili utafute kazi* don't go in order to look for work, and can be preceded by *kwa*. If *kwa* occurs, then *kwa kutafuta kazi* is Adjunct, but without *kwa* it must be classified as a clause substitute.

Consecutive commands in the subjunctive are separate sentences joined by a link, e.g.:

usiende wala usitafute kazi
neither go nor look for work

The use of a linked subject, with locative subject-prefix, followed by a verbo-nominal is a substitute for a negative command with subjunctive, but in standard Swahili is confined to general commands, e.g.:

hapana kuvuta tumbako
Or, usivute tumbako
do not smoke/there is no smoking

hakuna kupiga kelele
no noise!

Link subject with budi alternative, is commonly used to express compulsion, e.g.:

huna budi kutafuta kazi
you must look for work

Here kutafuta kazi is constituent of the noun-phrase with budi and occurs sometimes as Ca construct, viz., huna budi ya kutafuta kazi. But note also: kutafuta kazi huna budi to look for work you must.

Chapter Four

Phrasal Predicate

4.00. The Phrasal Predicate (PP) is a sub-class of the syntactic function-class Predicate (P).

4.01. The components of PP are as follows:

(1) Verb and nominal
(2) Verb and two nominals
(3) Verb and verb
(4) Nominal and verb.

These lexical items are transposable only in terms of a different sentence structure and in many instances no transposition of the lexical items is possible.

4.02. It has been stated in 2.03 that a sentence with O can be restated, whether or not the object-infix occurs, by a passive sentence in which O of the original sentence is assigned the status of S. Deviant sentences introduced into the language by speakers for whom Swahili is a second or third language are usually identifiable because they do not conform to the general rule concerning restatement in the passive. The following sentences are not restatable even though they occur with O:

alimwelewa mwalimu P O
he understood the teacher

aliilewa brandi P O
he got drunk on brandy

alikikaa kitako P O
he settled down/sat down

These are deviant sentences tolerated by first speakers of the language. The following sentences conform to general rules:

maneno yake mwalimu yalimwelea Ali S P O
the teacher's words were clear to Ali

Restated:

Ali alielewa na maneno yake mwalimu S P A
Ali understood the teacher's words

alilewa brandi PP
he got drunk on brandy

alikaa kitako PP
he sat down

The deviant sentences are not rejected, and the presence of the object-infix makes it possible to classify their structure. The sentences represented as PP are not parallel to sentences with O in which the object-infix is optional. If they were, a restatement in the passive would be possible, but it is not. The combination of verb and nominal forms a syntactic unit, allowing, of course, for the subject-prefix (a-) which is obligatory in PP, as it is in P.

4.03. The nominal component of PP is not represented in the verb by an object-infix, because it does not expound O, e.g.

alichangamka sura
he looked cheerful

aliiva uso
his face was red (from weeping, exertion, being near a fire)

anapuma kifua
his chest is throbbing

alivimba mguu
his leg swelled/was swollen

The nominal in each of these sentences forms with the verb the syntactic unit PP. In different sentences the same lexical items are employed with object-infix occurring, but these are among the verbs that in any context do not have a passive. So there is a restriction on the general rule of restatement in the passive. Note sentences with object-infix:

sura ilimchangamka S P(O)
his cantenence was cheerful

uso ulimwiva S P(O)
his face was red

kifua kinampuma S P(O)
his chest is throbbing

mguu ulimvimba — S P(O)
his leg was swollen

4.04. In identifying and especially in eliciting PPs, contextual viability is an important factor for establishing acceptability, and may be distinct from grammatical viability. In this connection, the general preference common to most Bantu languages for active rather than passive sentences is perhaps relevant. It must not be implied that the passive restatement of an active automatically occurs, even though it may be grammatically acceptable.

4.05. Compare the following:

Yohana alinunua ndizi — S P O
John bought bananas

Restated:

ndizi zilinunuliwa na Yohana — S P A
bananas were bought by John

sakafu yetu ilivuja maji — S PP
our ceiling dripped water

If the word maji, water, is transposed, a different structure results, as follows:

maji yalivuja sakafuni mwetu — S P A
water dripped from our ceiling

The group expounding Adjunct, viz. sakafuni mwetu, can be deleted. If we compare this last sentence, making the deletion, with the sentence having the structure S P O, we find that maji yalivuja water leaked, is a complete sentence, but Yohana alinunua is not. This establishes that in these sentences sakafuni mwetu is not comparable as to its syntactic function with ndizi. The following sentences have corresponding structures even though the lexical items are not the same:

maji yalivuja — S P
water leaked

sakafu yetu ilivuja maji — S PP
our ceiling leaked water

(1) PP - components verb plus nominal

4.10. PPs consisting of verb plus nominal are classified according to their capacity to take Object. Sentences with the same lexical items may have different meanings and be in different categories according to the respective relationships of PP to O, e.g.

(I) alivunja kichwa PP
he got over his hangover

(II) alimvunja kichwa PP (O)
he (A) broke his (B's) head

Sentence (I) is in the category of PPs in which the meaning of both components id different from the unitary meaning and which do not take O. Sentence (II) is in the category of PPs which have obligatory O. The referent of the object-infix in (II) is some other nominal than kichwa.

4.11. PP (no Object). In PP of this type, the nominal component is not expandable by long-series words, and the word-order is fixed. An expanded nominal group is classified as Object or Complement according to whether it can be represented in the verb by an object-infix in a declarative statement. Compare:

(I) tuliona baridi
we were cold

(II) tuliona baridi kali
we were very cold

In (I) with no object-infix the word-order is fixed, and so the sentence is classified as PP. In response pattern, the nominal may precede the verb as O, and the object-infix occurs:

Q. mliona baridi? PP
were you (pl. cold?

A. baridi tuliiona
we experienced the cold

With expanded nominal group the word-order is no longer fixed, and Adjunct can be interpolated. No such interpolation occurs between the components of PP. The expanded group is classified as Complement:

tuliona baridi kali jana — P C A
Or, baridi kali tuliona jana — C P A
Or, tuliona jana baridi kali — P A C
we were very cold yesterday/we found it very cold yesterday

Again:

aliona furaha — PP
he was happy

aliona furaha nyingi — P C
he was very happy

aliona mashaka — PP
he was doubtful

aliona mashaka mengi — P C
he was very doubtful

In sentences with structure S P in which P is expounded by a verb that does not take O, a structure occurs in which the verb has a locative prefix in a corresponding sentence, e.g.

wageni wengi walifika — S P
Or, walifika wageni wengi — P S
many visitors came/arrived

Compare:

palifika wageni wengi
there came many visitors

This latter structure can hardly be classified as PP. The relationship of verb to nominal group is more like P C, but the word-order is fixed. The unit C is normally free to precede the verb. Since this structure is restricted to verbs with locative subject-prefix, we prefer the classification P C, noting that in this structure the word-order is fixed.

There are formal criteria for distinguishing the different syntactic units, particularly affixal association or the absence of affixal association, word-order, and relationship by extension of the radical in the verb, e.g.

alilima kwa jembe P A
he cultivated with a hoe

The group kwa jembe with fixed prefix kw- (ku-) is easily recognisable as Adjunct, has no affixal association with the verb, and can precede the verb. Compare:

alilimia jembe P +A
he cultivated with a hoe/he used a hoe for cultivating

Here the verb has Applicative extension in obligatory relationship to the nominal and the word-order is fixed. The extension is a formal criterion for identifying a relationship between different syntactic units. The most important factor in PPs is that such a criterion does not occur. In some sentences with obligatory relationship to A, kwa is retained or A is expounded by a locative group. Note the alternative sentence:

alilimia kwa jembe P A
he cultivated with a hoe

No such alternate forms occur for PP.

If O occurs in a sentence with +A, use of the object-infix is optional with reference to inanimates: e.g.

ali(u)fungia kufuli mlango P +A O
he fastened the door with a lock

ali(zi)fungia nguo zangu kabatini P O +A
he shut my clothes in a cupboard

Compare:

ali(u)funga mlango kwa kufuli P O A
he fastened the door with a lock

alifunga nguo zangu kabatini P O A
he shut my clothes in a cupboard

Obligatory relationship to O occurs in sentences with C as secondary object, again with the verb having Applicative extension:

alinifungia mlango kwa kufuli he fastened the door for me with a lock	P(+O) C A
alinifungia nguo zangu kabatini he shut my clothes for me in a cupboard	P(+o) C A

Some Applicatives have a specialised meaning, and the occurrence of this extension in identical structures serves only to distinguish the meanings, e.g.

alinifumba macho he shut my eyes	PP(O)
alinifumbia macho he winked at me	PP(O)

Some Applicatives have modified meaning according to the structure in which they occur, e.g.

simba alimruka a lion jumped over him	S P(O)
simba alimrukia a lion jumped on him	S P(+O)
simba alimwuma a lion bit him	S P(O)
simba alimwumia begani a lion bit him on the shoulder	S P(O) +A

The occurrence of PP(no Object) does not involve any relationship between syntactic units because PP is itself a unit, but some verbs in PP (no Object) occur with nominals that are deletable, e.g.

mto huu umekauka maji this river is dry	S PP
mto huu umekauka this river is dry	S P
shati hii inanuka jasho this shirt stinks of sweat	S PP

shati hii inanuka S P
this shirt stinks

The sentences with deletion of the nominal occur more frequently in response pattern, but they occur also in statements. Sentences with PP of this type are discussed in 4.18. In the majority of sentences with PP (no O) deletion is possible. Examples of PP (no O):

alipoa chango/ndui/ugonjwa
he recovered from hookworm/smallpox/sickness

aliugua nyumonia/ndui
he was ill with pneumonia/smallpox

anachemka maneno
he is garrulous/is bubbling with words

birika inachemka maji
the kettle is boiling

kisu kimeingia kutu
the knife is rusty

watu wameingia vumbi
the people are covered in dust

amegeuka simba
he has changed into a lion

anapapa roho/moyo
his heart is throbbing

alivimba mguu
his leg was swollen/swelled up

alipiga mtindi
he drank (alcohol)

alipiga chuku
he exaggerated

tulikula laifu
we had a good time

amevunja ungo
she has pubertised

amefungua kinywa
she has broken her fast

alikata roho
he died

4.12. Nominal component with fixed prefix. In PP (no Object) the nominal component occurs with fixed prefix, e.g.

alikaa kitako he sat down/squatted	PP
walikaa kitako they sat down/squatted	PP

The alternance in the subject-prefix, *a*-/*wa*-, is not matched by a similar alternance in the prefix of the nominal component. Compare PP in which the nominal component has a free prefix:

alipiga kilemba he wore a turban	PP
walipiga vilemba they wore turbans	PP

The prefix of -*lemba* is free within recognised limits, i.e., it is in a controlled position and is not, as component of this type of PP, able to control agreements in other words.

With a fixed prefix in nominal component of PP, the nominal stem is that normally associated with a short-series nominal. The fixed prefixes are *ki*- and *u*-, e.g.:

With fixed prefix ki-

alikaa kitawa he lived holily/in seclusion	*mtawa* holy man, recluse
alikufa kikondoo he died peacefully	*kondoo* sheep
alilala kigogo he slept like a log/he lay down like a log	*gogo* log

alifanya kitoto — mtoto child
he behaved childishly

With fixed prefix u-

alikufa ujusi — mjusi lizard
it died a natural death (of an animal)

alifanya ushenzi — mshenzi uncivilised person
he behaved in an uncivilised way

unafanya ukungu — kungu/ukungu damp, mildew
it is becoming mildewed (of mkate bread)

yanakwenda upande — kipande piece, etc.
they are going awry (of mambo affairs, things)

Nominals that are associated with only one prefix, i.e. one class gender, like someCl. 12 nominals, can be included in this category, e.g., amelala usingizi he is asleep.

Fixed prefix ki- also occurs before reduplicated stems, before stems usually associated with a long-series word, and as an extra prefix, but such nominals do not fulfill the criteria of components of PP, e.g.

alilala kifudifudi — P A
he lay face downwards

alilala kitandani kifudifudi — P A A
he lay on the bed face downwards

The interpolation of A between verb and nominal of PP is an impossible sequence, and this establishes that kifudifudi is A and not component of PP. Similarly with nominals having fixed prefix as an extra prefix, e.g.

anakaa kinyumba — P A nyumba house
she is living like a married woman (but is not married)

anakaa na yule bwana kinyumba — P A A
she is living with that man unmarried

The occurrence of A (na yule bwana) between verb and nominal establishes kinyumba as A and not component of PP.

Again, with stems usually associated with long-series words the nominal occurs also in pre-verbal position and this is an impossible sequence for nominal component of PP:

alicheka kidogo P A
Or, kidogo alicheka A P
he laughed a little

The short-series nominals kitambo a little (usually of time) and kiasi amount (of time, distance, etc.) function as A in this type of sentence:

alikwenda kitambo P A or A P
he went some time ago

alikwenda kiasi P A or A P
he went a little way

alikwenda kiasi cha maili tatu P A or A P
he went about three miles

Similarly, sentences of the type alikwenda safari he went a journey, are classified as P A, because the unit A can be expanded and in pre-verbal position is introduced by the marker of A, kwa, e.g. alikwenda safari ya saa tatu, or, kwa safari ya saa tatu alikwenda, he went a three day's journey.

With radical -chuku- carry, a construction occurs with an eccentric type of Complement that does not precede the verb, e.g.

safari yetu ilichukua saa tatu S P C
our journey took three hours

The radical -chuku- has obligatory O when it means 'carry', but here the nominal group saa tatu cannot be represented by an object-infix. Even when preceded by the marker kama of Adjunct, the group does not behave as A, for unlike A, its position is fixed after the verb, e.g.

safari yetu ilichukua kama saa tatu   S P C
our journey took about three hours

Also:

safari yetu ilichukua muda wa saa tatu S P C
the journey took a period of three hours

kitabu hili kimechukua habari za vita
vya Vietnam   S P C
this book is about the Vietnam war

Note with a different verb:

safari yetu iliendelea kwa muda wa
saa tatu   S P A or A S P
our journey continued over a period of three hours

With the order S P A the marker kwa can be omitted.

4.13. Included in the category of PP (no O) are PPs which do not take O if the verb radical is minimal. These take O only with the Applicative extension, and are described further in 4.17. They constitute quite a large class, of which the following are examples:

alipiga kelele   PP
he made a noise

alitupigia kelele   PP(+O)
he made a noise at us

alikata bei   PP
he decided on a price

alitukatia bei   PP(+O)
he agreed with us on a price

alifunga safari PP
he prepared his journey

alitufungia safari PP(+O)
he prepared our journey

4.14. PP (Obligatory Object). To identify PP +O, it is necessary to consider first the set of object-relationships occurring with verbs expounding P, as follows:

(1) P O (object-infix optional)

ali(li)lipa deni
he paid a (the) debt

(2) P +O C (object-infix obligatory)

(a) alimlipa Juma deni lake
he paid his debt to Juma

(b) alimlipia Juma deni lake
he paid Juma"s debt for him

The important factor for identifying PP +O in other sentences is to establish the difference between the status of C in 2(a) and that of the nominal component of PP. So long as the nominal deni in 2(a) is not expanded, it fulfills the requirement of component of PP in not being able to take pre-verbal position. With the expansion, the nominal group can precede the verb, or in post-verbal position can be separated from the verb by Adjunct, an impossible sequence as between the components of PP, e.g.

deni lake la zamani alimlipa Juma jana C P +O A
Or, alimlipa Juma jana deni lake la zamani P +O A C
he paid Juma his outstanding debt yesterday

The same applies to the status of C in 2(b).

There are two sub-classes of PP +O as follows:

(1) those in which the nominal component is not expandable by long-series words, and (2) those in which the nominal component is expandable, but in fixed post-verbal position:

Sub-class 1

alimsonga roho PP(+O)
he throttled him

alimvunja uso PP(+O)
he put him to shame

ametuacha mkono PP(+O)
Or, ametutupa mkono PP(+O)
he has passed away

alinilipa deni PP(+O)
he paid me his debt

Sub-class 2

alinifumba macho PP(+O)
he closed my eyes

alinifumba macho yote mawili PP(+O)
he closed both my eyes

alimshika mtoto mkono PP +O
he took hold of the child's arm

alimshika mtoto mkono wa kuume PP +O
he took hold of the child's right arm

In PP (+O) the nominal group expounding O immediately follows the verb. Again:

alimfunga ndugu yangu kamba PP +O
he tied up my brother with a long rope

alimfunga ndugu yangu kamba ndefu PP +O
he tied up my brother with a long rope

Compare:

alimfunga ndugu yangu kwa kamba (ndefu) P O A
he tied up my brother with a (long) rope

The A group kwa kamba (ndefu) can precede the verb, but kamba and kamba ndefu as components of PP cannot precede the verb. They are lexical, but not grammatical, equivalents. Compare:

Juma alimshika mtoto mkono wa kuume S PP +O
Juma took hold of the child's right arm

Juma alimshika mtoto kwa mkono wa kuume S P O A
Juma took hold of the child by his (Juma's) right arm

In sentences with PP of Sub-class 2 (obligatory O) the object-infix is optional with reference to inanimate nominal-group, and also to indefinite animates, e.g.

Ali(ki) pamba chumba mana PP O
he decorated a/the room with flowers

alishika mtoto mkono
he took hold of a child's arm

PPs of Sub-class 2 are further discussed in 4.18.

It is important to note that PP(+O) does not occur in the Applicative in sentences without Complement. If the Applicative is used with comparable lexical items, the result is a different structure, e.g.

alinifungia kamba P(+O) C
he tied the rope for me

alinishikia mkono wa shati P(+O) C
he held the shirt-sleeve for me

4.15. Included in this category of PP (Obligatory Object) are PPs in which the nominal is of Arabic derivation, e.g. huru free, ghali expensive, rahisi cheap, wazi open, etc. In traditional terminology these are adjectives or adverbs, and of course their adjectival or adverbial use in other structures is not excluded. Like all nominal components of PP they are associated with specific radicals, e.g. rahisi cheap, is associated in this category with radicals -nunu- buy and -uz- sell. In declarative sentences the Object is obligatory, but in questions, in response, and in imperatives its use is optional. Object-infix is obligatory for Cl.1, but for all other classes it is optional provided that the group expounding O occurs:

ali(ya)uza rahisi machungwa haya PP +O
he sold these oranges cheaply

aliyanunua ghali PP(+O)
he bought them at a price (expensive, of machungwa oranges)

walimwacha huru mfungwa wao PP +O
they set free their prisoner

walimwacha yatima yule mtoto PP +O
they left that child orphaned

tuli(u)acha wazi mlango wa mbele PP _O
we left the front door open

ali(zi)tia sahihi barua zake PP +O
he signed his letters

wame(li)piga marufuku jambo lile PP +O
they have prohibited that matter

There is no restriction on the use of the Applicative with PPs of this sub-class, e.g.

aliniuzia rahisi machungwa haya PP(+O) C
he bought these oranges for me cheaply

wametupigia marufuku jambo lile PP(+O) C
they have declared that matter prohibited for us

4.16. PP (with and without O). In this category of PPs the occurrence of object-infix results in a different sentence from the corresponding sentence without O, i.e., the object-infix is not optional. Examples of sentence pairs with and without O:

ametia aibu PP
he has acted shamefully

ametutia aibu PP(O)
he has disgraced us

alishika mimba PP
she became pregnant

walimshika Juma mimba PP O
they made Juma responsible for the pregnancy

alifunga kamba PP
he used a rope for tying

alimfunga Juma kamba PP O
he tied Juma with a rope

alipiga fundo PP
he tied a knot

alimpiga Juma fundo PP O
he muddled Juma

maji yalimpiga fundo S PP(O)
the water choked him

In PP (without O) the nominal component is not expandable by dependent words. In PP (with O) the nominal component is expandable, e.g.

walimshika Juma mimba ya dada yangu PP O
they made Juma responsible for my sister's pregnancy

The expanded nominal component of PP, viz. mimba ya dada yangu is in fixed post-verbal position. If the lexical items are transposed to pre-verbal position, then they take the marker kwa of A, and the meaning is not the same:

kwa mimba ya dada yangu walimshika Juma
for my sister's pregnancy they held Juma

Compare the following sentences with C:

walimpa mwalimu zawadi ya saa nzuri   P O C or C P O
they gave the teacher a gift of a nice watch

In verbs expounding P the structure P O is maintained whether an object-infix occurs or not. This is what we mean by optional use of the object-infix. With PP the option does not occur, for PP O without an object-infix is an impossible sequence.

PP - components verb and two nominals. The verb of PP occurs with two nominal components, i.e., two different short-series nominals, e.g.:

alipiga moyo konde   PP   moyo heart, konde fist
he took courage

A variant form of this sentence occurs with the reflexive infix -ji- as O, but with no variation of class or person:

alijipiga moyo konde   PP(O)
he took courage

cf. alijipiga konde   PP(O)
he struck himself with his fist

Sentences occur with variation of person in the object-infix, but it is not possible to generate similar sentences automatically based on this construction. There is a tendency to reject the use of a nominal group expounding O and to confine the construction only to sentences with object-infix, e.g.

alimchapa matako fimbo   PP(O)
he beat him on the bottom with a stick

But: alimchapa mtoto wake fimbo matakoni PP O A
he beat his child with a stick on the bottom

Two sentences have been observed in this category with unitary meaning, and probably because the association of the relevant nominals is so well established with that special meaning, the O nominal group is permissible in final, not medial position:

Juma alimpaka uso mavi babake S PP O -pak- smear
Juma disgraced his father uso face, mavi dung

cf. alimpaka mavi usoni PP(O) A
he smeared dung on his face

Juma alimpaka uso mafuta babake S PP O mafuta oil
Juma made his father feel happy, proud

cf. alimpaka mafuta usoni PP(O) A
he anointed him on the face

Where the two nominals of PP occur, their position is fixed. The second nominal together with the verb may constitute PP in a different sentence, but not the first nominal. No general rule can be made from this, since what appears to be a distinction, semantically at least, between objectival and adverbial relationship, cannot be sustained. Compare:

alimkata kichwa PP(O)
he cut off his head

alimkata kichwani P(O) A
he cut him on the head

alimchoma kisu PP(O)
he stabbed him with a knife

The form alimkata kisu is not acceptable for 'he cut him with a knife', but only alimkata kwa kisu. This is indication of the semantic restrictions in this type of construction.

Further examples of PP with two nominal components:

alitapakaa wino mikono PP
he had ink on his fingers

alikauka macho machozi PP
his tears dried up

4.17. PP with extended radical. PP with extended radical occurs only where a corresponding structure with PP with minimal radical can be elicited. It does not have to be the same radical in the corresponding sentences, but in most instances it is, e.g.

alimfukuza kazi PP(O) Minimal radical
he dismissed him from his job

alimwachisha kazi PP(O) Extended radical
he laid him off work

The occurrence of the extension to the radical does not effect the structure. Compare again:

alilewa brandi PP
he got drunk on brandy

alimlewesha brandi PP(O)
he got him drunk on brandy

In the case of the reciprocal extension -an-, the surface structure is relatable in some instances to two sentences in the deep structure, e.g.

Juma na Ali walikazana kamba S PP
Juma na Ali tied themselves together with a rope

Relatable to:

Juma alimkaza Ali kamba S PP O
and, Ali alimkaza Juma kamba S PP O
Juma/Ali tied Ali/Juma with a rope

Because *kamba* functions as nominal component of PP with minimal radical, it is given the same function in PP with extension *-an-*.

4.17. *PP with Applicative verb.* Examples were given in 4.13 of PPs which take O only with the Applicative extension. It is important to note that the Applicative use in verbs of PP is not identical with its use in verbs expounding P.

The majority of Applicatives expounding P have obligatory relationship either to O or to A. Without O or A in such sentences the Applicative verb cannot occur, e.g.

alimwendea rafiki yake P +O
he went to his friend

There is no optional occurrence without the Applicative extension in relation to +O. Compare:

alikwenda kwa rafiki yake P A
he went to his friend's (place)

Similarly:

alimwolea dada yangu kwa ajili ya pesa zake P O +A
he married my sister for her money

There is no optional occurrence of the Applicative without the Adjunct, for *alimwolea dada yangu* is not a complete sentence. The Applicative verb is in obligatory relationship to Adjunct.

In PPs the Applicative verb is in obligatory relationship only to O and never to A. The invariable occurrence of the object-infix in PP Applicatives is an indication of the absence of any obligatory relationship to Adjunct. Note especially that the obligatory object-infix is invariably one of the personal affixes of Cl.1 and 2 and never of any other class, e.g.

alinipigia simu nyumbani PP(+O) A
he rang me up at home

alimwonea huruma mwishoni PP(+O) A
he had pity on him eventually

PPs which relate to O with minimal radical in the verb behave syntactically the same as P with reference to the use of the Applicative, e.g.

alizipiga pasi nguo zangu PP O
he ironed my clothes

alinipigia pasi nguo zangu PP(+O) C
he ironed my clothes for me

Compare with P:

alikisoma kitabu P O
he read the book

alinisomea kitabu P(+O) C
he read a book to/for me

Here nguo zangu and kitabu expound C in the sentences in which P is expounded by a verb with the Applicative extension.

PPs which relate to O only with Applicative extension in the verb have made void the normal function of the Applicative in this particular structure, e.g.:

alinipigia simu habari ile PP(+O) C
he rang me up about that

To express a sentence with the pattern of the English sentence 'he ironed my clothes for me', it is necessary, with PPs relating to O only with Applicative extension, to introduce an Adjunct, e.g.:

alimpigia simu kwa ajili yangu PP(+O) A
he rang him up for me

alimpigia simu mamangu kwa ajili yangu PP +O A
or, alimpigia mamangu simu kwa ajili yangu
he rang up my mother for me

4.18. PP with Passive verb. Sentences with PP relating to O are restatable in the passive. In the restated sentence the status of the nominal component of PP is unchanged, e.g.:

Juma aliezeka nyumba yake bati S PP O
Juma roofed his house with tin/corrugated iron

nyumba yake Juma iliezekwa bati S PP
Juma's house was roofed with tin

The nominal component of PP in both sentences is bati. Note that in sentences in which the Object is in possessive relationship to the Subject there is no link Adjunct with na. Compare:

Juma ameezeka nyumba hii bati S PP O
Juma has roofed this house with tin

nyumba hii imeezekwa bati na Juma S PP A
this house has been roofed with tin by Juma

The link Adjunct, na Juma, is deletable. Note that in each of these sentences the nominal component of PP, bati, is also deletable. It was noted in 4.11 that some verbs expounding PP (no Object) occur with a deletable nominal component. As P these verbs then occur with no Object. Note the following:

(1) mto huu umekauka maji S PP
this river has dried up

(2) *mto huu umekauka* S P
this river has dried up

The word *maji* in (1) fulfills the requirements of nominal component of PP in that it is not expandable as a group and is in fixed post-verbal position. Again:

(3) *maji ya mto huu umekauka* S P
the water of this river has dried up

Where these three related sentences occur, a fourth pattern also occurs, as follows:

(4) *maji yamekauka mto huu* S P A
the water has dried up, as to this river

The group *mto huu* in (4) does not fulfill the requirements of PP, for it can precede S, it is a group of more than one word, and it can be substituted by Adjunct, e.g. *mtoni humu* or *katika mto huu* in this river. It is classified as Adjunct, but its relationship to the partitive nominal *maji* in the C*a* construction *maji ya mto huu* in (3) is noted. The relationship between sentences (3) and (4) is particularly relevant in establishing the status of a nominal group immediately following a passive or a verb with no Object, e.g.:

kuta zote za nyumba hii imebomolewa S P
all the walls of this house have been pulled down

nyumba hii imebomolewa kuta zote S P A or S A P
this house has been pulled down as to all its walls

kuta zote zimebomolewa nyumba hii S P A or A S P
all the walls have been pulled down as to this house

The group expounding A in sentences of this type occurs only if the nominal forms a group with at least one long-series word. This distinguishes A in these sentences from nominal component of PP as in sentence (1). Again:

ghorofa nne za nyumba hii zimejengwa S P
four stories of this house have been built (more to come)

nyumba hii imejengwa ghorofa nne S P A or S A P
this house has been built as to four stories (it is four-storied)

ghorofa nne zimejengwa nyumba hii S P A or A S P
four stories have been built as to this house (more to come)

Again:

nyumba hii imejaa watu S PP
this house is full of people

nyumba hii imejaa S P
this house is full

watu wa nyumba hii wamejaa S P
people of this house are plentiful

watu wamejaa nyumba hii S P A or A S P
there are lots of people as to this house

Certain verbs do not occur with each of the four above patterns, but only with (1) and (4), e.g.:

nyumba hii inakaa watu sasa S PP A
this house is occupied now

watu wanakaa nyumba hii sasa S P A A
people are living in this house now

ukuta huu umetiwa rangi S PP
this wall has been painted

rangi imetiwa ukuta huu S P A or A S P
paint has been applied as to this wall

kisu hiki kimeingia kutu S PP
this knife has become rusty

kutu imeingia kisu hiki S P A or A S P
rust has got in as to this knife

matofali haya yalipakwa chokaa these bricks were whitewashed	S PP
chokaa ilipakwa matofali haya lime was applied as to these bricks	S P A or A S P

A fifth pattern occurs, corresponding to the pattern (3) above, in which S is expounded by a Ca construction relating to PP. Either of the sub-groups of the Ca construction function as S, e.g.:

pande mbili za matofali haya zilipakwa chokaa both sides of these bricks were whitewashed	S PP
matofali haya yalipakwa chokaa pande mbili these bricks were whitewashed on both sides	S PP A or S A PP
chumba kimoja cha nyumba hii kimeezekwa bati one room of this house has been roofed with tin	S PP
nyumba hii imeezekwa bati chumba kimoja this house has been roofed with tin as to one room	S PP A or S A PP

Compare in relation to pattern (4) above:

chokaa ilipakwa pande mbili za matofali lime was applied on both sides of the bricks	S P A or A S P
bati limeezekwa chumba kimoja cha nyumba hii tin was used for roofing as to one room of this house	S P A or A S P

4.19. PP - components verb and verb. Adjacent verbs occur, each with the same subject referent. The grammars refer to 'compound tenses' or 'compound verbs', implying that the compound forms a syntactic unit. A different approach is needed to establish the identity of PP.

The verb -w- be, occurs as auxiliary in all of its tenses except the negative -ja- tense. It is a time marker for the second verb which is functionally a verbal complement corresponding to a nominal complement or to a copulative complement, as follows:

(a) alikuwa amechoka — P with verbal complement
he was tired

(b) alikuwa mgonjwa — P with nominal complement
he was ill

(c) alikuwa ni mgonjwa — P with copulative complement
he was a sick person

In the general analysis the term Complement applies to a nominal group, so that sentence (b) is classified as P C. The verbal and copulative complements are each a type of complementing clause, but in the case of sentence (a) there are two factors which distinguish the construction from a sentence classified as P Comp. Compare:

alisema amechoka
Or, alisema ya kuwa amechoka
he said (that) he was tired

alisema wamechoka
Or, alisema ya kuwa wamechoka
he said (that) they were tired

These sentences are classified as P Comp., i.e. P with Complementing clause. They differ from sentence (a) by the interpolation of ya kuwa between the two verbs and by an alternance of subject-prefix in the second verb. So long as adjacent verbs with auxiliary -w- be, occur with the same subject-referent and in sentences in which no word is interpolated between the adjacent verbs, they can be said to constitute a Phrasal Predicate (PP). Compare:

(I) alikuwa akimpiga mkewe — PP O
he used to beat his wife, or, he was beating his wife

(II) *alikuwa nyumbani akimpiga mkewe* P Λ Add (P O)
he was at home/in the house beating his wife

In (I) *alikuwa* is an auxiliary, but in (II) *alikuwa nyumbani* is a complete sentence in which an additioning clause, relating to S, is added.

The tenses of the second verb in this type of PP have in the positive the tense-signs -*na*-, -*ki*- and -*me*-, and in the negative the present negative tense with suffix -*i* and the negative -*ja*-tense. Examples:

atakuwa ameshindwa tena PP A
he will have failed again

alikuwa ananitazama kila mara PP(O) A
he was looking at me all the time

tumekuwa tukidharauliwa PP
we have become despised

hakuwa akisoma tena PP A
he was not studying (reading) any more

alikuwa hawezi PP
he was unwell

tulikuwa hatujaonana PP
we had not met

4.20. Certain verbs occur in relation to a verbo-nominal. These include -*end*- go, -*ish*- finish, -*pat*- get, -*tak*- want, and -*wez*- be able, perhaps the most frequently occurring in this construction. The grammars treat them as auxiliaries in what is generally considered to be a unitary verbal construction. A true compound allows for no interpolation between the items, but none of these verbs is so closely bound to the verbo-nominal as to fulfill in all contexts this criterion. The hybrid character of the verbo-nominal mitigates against its classification either as a Complementing clause or simply as a Complement, for it is neither P nor simply a nominal group. It is a nominal group with verbal characteristics, e.g., it can take O and can be modified by A, but has no subject-prefix. If it is classified as a complement, which, of course, it is, then it must be represented as a special kind of complement, viz. Complement (Verbo-nominal) or C-vn. With A in fixed position after C-vn, the combination C-vn A is enclosed in brackets, for the distinction between free and bound A in this connection is significant. Examples:

maji yamekwenda kuletwa S P C-vn
water is now being fetched

amekwenda kuitwa P C-vn
he is now being called

amekwisha kula P C-vn
he was finished eating/he has already eaten

sijapata kumwona Rais P C-vn O
I have never seen the President

nimepata kufika Nairobi mara kwa mara P (C-vn) A
Or, nimepata mara kwa mara kufika Nairobi P A (C-vn A)
I have been occasionally to Nairobi

alitaka kurudi tena P (C-vn A)
he wanted to come back again, i.e., he has been before

alitaka tena kurudi P A C-vn
he wanted again to come back, i.e., he may not have been back

aliweza kuwaonyesha ufundi wake P C-vn(O) C
he was able to show them his skill

hakuweza kumkataza kabisa P (Cvn(O) A)
he couldn't forbid him altogether

hakuweza kabisa kumkataza P A C-vn(O)
he was absolutely incapable of forbidding him

A restricted occurrence of PP with adjacent verbs in matrix sentences occurs with the auxiliary -j- come. Both verbs have the same subject-referent. The occurrence is limited to the use of the future -ta- positive tense in both verbals, e.g.:

tutakuja tutajuta PP
we will eventually regret it

atakuja atajichosha bure PP(O) A
he will eventually tire himself out for nothing

Note that in PP with two verbs, the object-infix is included in the second, not the first, verb.

PP with auxiliary -j- occurs also in Conditioning clauses (Con) as follows:

nitamaliza kazi yangu upesi tuje tule P O A Con(PP)
I will finish my work quickly so that then we may eat

nitafanya bidii nije nimalize kazi yangu PP Con(PP O)
I will be diligent so that then I may finish my work

Verbal PP is tuje tule and nije nimalize.

After a verb with radical -ish- the prefix of the verbo-nominal is often omitted. There are forms which justify the classification of P for the compound of verb and verbo-nominal, e.g.:

amekwisha toka
Or, amesha toka
Or, ansha toka
he has left/he has already gone out

The use or omission of the prefix ku- of verbo-nominals after so-called auxiliary verbs is a subject for further investigation. Meanwhile, the pattern P C-vn is employed in the present description so long as the verb of P retains its normal stem.

4.21. PP - Components nominal and verb. The co-occurrence of a nominal of Arabic origin followed by a positive or negative verb in the subjunctive constitutes PP. The nominals include the following: afadhali, bora, heri, lazima, and sharti. Examples:

afadhali unyamaze you had better keep quiet	PP
bora tukiri we had better confess	PP
heri usiende you had better not go	PP
lazima tusimkasirishe baba we must not make father angry	PP O
sharti tujaribu kwanza we have to try first	PP A

The nominals afadhali, bora and heri occur as component of PP also with a verb, positive or negative, with tense-sign -nge- or -ngali-, e.g.:

afadhali tungalinyamaza it would be better for us to have kept quiet	PP
bora tusingekiri it would be better for us not to confess	PP
heri ungalikwenda it would be better had you gone	PP

Substitution of a verbo-nominal for the subjunctive verb with subject-prefix results in what is classified as neutral PP. The negative form of the verbo-nominal occurs. Examples:

afadhali kunyamaza better to keep quiet	neutral PP

bora kukiri — neutral PP
better to confess

heri kutokwenda — neutral PP
better not to go

lazima kutokumkasirisha baba — Neutral PP O
father must not be angered

sharti kujaribu kwanza — neutral PP A
an initial attempt must be made

There is no latent word between nominal and verb in this category of PP. If, however, the nominal is stabilised by the copula ni or its negative si, the copulative construction introduces a Complementing clause which may be introduced by the marker kwamba of such a clause, e.g.:

ni afadhali unyamaze
Or, ni afadhali kwamba unyamaze
it is better that you keep quiet

ni lazima (kwamba) tusimkasirishe baba
it is essential that we shouldn't anger father

The full form of the marker word, viz. ya kwamba, is used if the Complementing clause precedes the copula, e.g.:

ya kwamba tusimkasirishe baba ni lazima
that we should not anger father is essential

With a neutral PP this type of sentence is non-verbal, e.g.:

ni bora kukiri
Or, kukiri ni bora
it is better to confess/to confess is better

Copulative sentences are classified as consisting of Topic, e.g. as kukiri, and Comment, as ni bora in the last sentence. The Complementing clauses in the above examples expound Topic in relation to the copulative Comment.

CHAPTER FIVE

Subject-Predicate Relationships

5.00. The constituents of a nominal group functioning as S are shown in typical examples of sentences with a basic structure of Subject-Predicate.

5.10. SsN. With the order S P the SsN is particularized, but with reversal to P S the SsN is indefinite, except with animates.

barua imefika S P
the letter has arrived

imefika barua P S
a letter has arrived

shauri lilikatwa S P
the matter was decided

lilikatwa shauri P S
a matter was decided

mwalimu alikuja
Or, alikuja mwalimu
the teacher came

Cl. 1 nominals are given indefinite meaning by the use of the LsN -moja one, e.g.:

alikuja mwalimu mmoja P S
a teacher came

Note that even here the reversal to P S is preferable to express indefinite meaning. Compare:

mwalimu mmoja alikuja S P
one teacher came/a certain teacher came

Compare also:

mwalimu fulani alikuja S P
Teacher So-and-so came

alikuja mwalimu fulani P S
certain teacher came

SsN-Dem and Dem-SsN. As a general rule, demonstratives serve to particularize the nominal. Dem (demonstrative) following the nominal is an indicator, and this speech pattern may be accompanied by some physical act like pointing, nodding, etc. In the printed word, however, and in narration where reference of time and place is displaced, the order SsN-Dem is referential.

Dem preceding the nominal is referential, indicating that it refers to previous mention or mutual understanding of the nominal concerned.

Indicating:

mpira ule umepasuka
Or, umepasuka mpira ule
that ball is burst

Referential:

ule mpira umepasuka
Or, umepasuka ule mpira
that ball is burst, i.e., the ball we know about

With displaced reference:

...basi, habari zile zikamfikia...
...and so the news reached him...

...meli ile ikatoka...
...and the boat left...

SsN-LsN. In some contexts the SsN is particularized when the nominal group precedes P, and is indefinite when it follows P, but some LsN's, like -ingi much, many, and -chache few, have a meaning that nullifies the distinction between definite and indefinite nominal. The general rule for using Dem for particularization then applies. Examples:

mzigo mzito umefika S P
the heavy load has arrived

umefika mzigo mzito P S
a heavy load has arrived

mpira mdogo umepasuka S P
the small ball is burst

umepasuka mpira mdogo P S
a small ball is burst

vitabu vichache vilipatikana
Or, vilipatikana vitabu vichache
a few books were obtainable

But, vitabu hivi vichache vilipatikana Nairobi S P A
these few books were obtained in Nairobi

As a general rule the use of Dem is preferable in all such contexts to give particularization. In final position in the nominal group Dem is an indicator, and initially in the group Dem is referential, e.g.:

Indicating:

mzigo mzito ule umeanguka
that heavy load has fallen down

watu wote wale wamesimama
all of those people are standing up

Referential:

ule mzigo mzito umeanguka
the/that heavy load has fallen down

wale wazee wengine walikuja
some of the/those elders came

Reversal to P S operates in these examples with no change of meaning.

SsN-Pos. Pos stands for a word with a possessive stem, and SsN-Pos is the nominal group. Reversal to P S gives emphasis to the meaning of the verb, and there is corresponding emphatic stress on the penultimate syllable of the verb:

bibi yake alisikiliza S P
his wife listened

alisikiliza bibi yake P S
his wife did listen

kitabu chake kimepotea S P
his book is lost

kimepotea kitabu chake P S
his book is lost

SsN-Pos-LsN. Pos follows immediately the SsN, and reversal to P S brings no change of meaning:

kitabu chake kikubwa kimepotea S P
his big book is lost

vikombe vyangu viwili vimevunjika S P
my two cups are broken

Since Pos serves to particularize the nominal, the uses with Dem are different from those with reference to SsN-LsN. The sequences Dem-SsN-Pos and SsN-Pos-Dem are permissible only with referential meaning, e.g.:

ile nyumba yangu imenigharimu sana S P A
that house of mine has cost me much

...basi, mashauri yetu yale yalikubaliwa...- S P
...and so our ideas were accepted...

Or, ...basi, yale mashauri yetu yalikubaliwa...- S P

In the first of these examples, Dem may not occur in post-position as an indicator, preference being given to SsN-Dem with a relative construction, e.g.:

nyumba ile ambayo ni yangu imenigharimu sana S P A
that house (indicating) which is mine has cost me much

With SsN-Pos-LsN, however, Dem initially in the nominal group is referential and finally it is an indicator, e.g.:

kile kitabu changu kikubwa kilipotea S P
the/that big book of mine was lost (Referential)

kitabu changu kikubwa kile kilipotea S P
that big book of mine was lost (Indicating)

Reversal to P S occurs with no change of meaning.

The order SsN-Pos-Dem-LsN gives two groups, and the second group, Dem-LsN, may occur referentially without the first, e.g.:

kitabu changu, kile kikubwa, kimepotea S P
my book, the big one is lost

Q. kitabu kipi kimepotea? S P
which book is lost?

A. kile kikubwa kimepotea S P
the big one is lost

The order SsN-Dem-Pos is an impossible sequence as a single group, but may occur as a double group, e.g.:

nyumba ile, yangu, ilijengwa zamani S P A
that house, my own, was built long ago

SsN-Dem-Pos occurs as a non-verbal sentence, e.g.:

nyumba ile yangu
that house is mine

The order SsN-Dem-LsN may occur, however, as a single group in which Dem gives either referential meaning or acts as an indicator according to the context, e.g.:

kitambaa hiki cheupe kimechafuliwa S P
this white cloth has been soiled (Indicating)

habari ile mbaya ilifika upesi S P A
the bad news arrived quickly (Referential)

If more than one LsN is employed in relation to SsN, neither of which is a numeral, their order may be reversed with no change of meaning, e.g.:

vikombe vyeupe vikubwa vimevunjika S P
Or, vikombe vikubwa vyeupe vimevunjika S P
the big white cups are broken

Dem initially in such a group is referential and finally in the group it is an indicator. If Dem occurs after the SsN its function is the same as in SsN-Dem-LsN with a single LsN, i.e. referential or as an indicator according to the context, e.g.:

vikombe vile vikubwa vyeupe vimevunjika S P
those big white cups are broken

Dem between the LsN's is not an acceptable order, preference being given to a relative construction, e.g.:

vikombe vikubwa vile vilivyo vyeupe vimevunjika S P
those/the big cups, the whire ones, are broken

cf. vikombe vikubwa, vile vyeupe, vimevunjika S P
the big cups, those white ones, are broken

Here there are two nominal groups.

If one of the LsN's is a numeral, reversal of the LsN's brings change of emphasis, e.g.:

vikombe vyeupe viwili vimevunjika S P
two white cups are broken

vikombe viwili vyeupe vimevunjika S P
two white cups are broken

This distinction of meaning is reinforced by using two nominal groups, e.g.:

vikombe vyeupe, vile viwili, vimevunjika S P
two white cups are broken

vikombe viwili, vile vyeupe, vimevunjika S P
two *white* cups are broken

vikombe vyeupe, vyote viwili, vimevunjika S P
both of the white cups are broken

5.00. *Dual function of LsN's*. An LsN referring to a zero SsN needs to be stabilized by Dem. Some LsN's of Classes 1/2 regularly operate with zero SsN, and then have the status of SsN's inasmuch as they occur in relationships in which other LsN's do not occur, e.g.:

ule mzito umefika S P
the/that heavy one has arrived (of *mzigo* load, Cl. 3)

This pattern, Dem-LsN, is referential or response pattern. The reversal of Dem-LsN is an impossible sequence here, but compare:

wale wakubwa wamefika S P
the/those big people have arrived

wakubwa wale wamefika S P
those big people have arrived (Indicating)

In the last example *wakubwa* operates as SsN, because LsN-Dem is an impossible sequence. It is important to note that only Cl. 1/2 LsN's have this double function.

If it is necessary to distinguish the type of person or people, then the relevant SsN is employed. e.g.:

walihudhuria Waafrika wakubwa P S
important Africans were present

Compare:

mtu mweusi mmoja alikuja S P
a certain black person came/one black person came

mtu mmoja, mzee, alikuja S P
one/a person, an old man, came

mtu mmoja, mweusi, alikuja S P
one/a person, a black one, came

Here the LsN mweusi which never has the additional status of SsN operates normally as LsN. The stem -zee old has dual function either as LsN or as SsN, but its use as SsN is so well established that, with this context, its inclusion in a sentence having the word-order of the first example is rejected. The other two examples each have two nominal groups expounding S. Although the form mtu mzee mmoja is permissible, more commonly the sentence is expressed as follows:

mzee mmoja alikuja S P
one/an old person came

but NOT,

mweusi mmoja alikuja

Membership in two grammatical categories of nominal, viz. SsN and LsN, does not in words with a stem of Bantu origin call for any prefixal modification, e.g.:

wezi hawa werevu watahukumiwa S P
these cunning thieves will be judged

werevu hawa watahukumiwa S P
these cunning people will be judged

In the first example *werevu* (*wa-erevu*) is LsN with stem *-erevu* of Bantu origin, and in the second example a word of the same shape operates as SsN. Compare:

watu hawa hodari wamekufa bure S P A
these brave people have died in vain

mahodari hawa wamekufa bure S P A
these brave people have died in vain

Here the stem *-hodari* is of Arabic origin and nominals with a stem of this type operate with zero prefix as LsN's in both Cl 1 and 2, but with zero prefix Cl. 5 (singular) and prefix of Cl. 6 (plural) as SsN's.

Within the general type of nominals of Bantu origin that have dual function, certain stems have higher status than others, for whereas all may have dual status, some operate as Ssn's in relation to others as LsN's, but not vice versa, e.g.:

yule mgeni mnene ameondoka S P
the/that fat stranger has left

yule mwalimu mgeni ameondoka S P
the/that new (strange) teacher has left

In the first example *mgeni* and *mnene* are both words capable of dual function. For example, in the second sentence *mgeni* operates as LsN and it is possible to substitute *mnene* for *mgeni*. The reversal of *mgeni* (SsN) and *mnene* (LsN) is not acceptable in the first example, however, because *mgeni* has higher status than *mnene*. If in a parallel sentence the reversal is made, then there are two nominal groups, not one, e.g.:

yule mnene, mgeni, ameondoka S P
the/that fat person, the stranger, has left

Compare also:

wakuu wachache walikuja S P
a few elders came

wachache, wakuu, walikuja S P
a few people, elders, came

wachache walikuja, wakuu S P
a few came, elders

It would be convenient if simple lists could be given of nominal stems of this type according to their mutual status, but the matter is complicated by the fact that some stems have higher status in relationship to certain stems, but not to others. This is a semantic factor belonging more to the dictionary than to a grammar.

Dem or Pos as S. In response/referential contexts Dem or Pos may itself constitute the nominal group expounding S:

Dem

ule utafaa
that one will do (of ufunguo key, Cl. 11)

hivi vimepasuka
these are split (of viatu shoes, Cl. 8)

haya yameganda
this is sour (of maziwa milk, Cl. 6)

Pos

changu kimetoboka
mine has a hole in it (of kikapu basket, Cl. 7)

wake umeanguka
his has fallen down (of mundu bill-hook, Cl. 3)

yetu yamesitawi
ours has done well (of mahindi maize, Cl. 6)

5.12. Rel expounding S. Provided that Rel can act as substitute for SsN or LsN in any of the group patterns already indicated, we may attribute group-shift to the relative from verbal group to nominal group. If, however, the relative operates in a way that is uncharacteristic of SsN's or LsN's, as, for example, by introducing further verbal expansions or by being modified by adverbials, the structure with the relative is classified as an Additioning clause. Such a clause may still be an exponent of S. Complete substitution of a relative for either SsN or LsN is not possible, e.g. a relative does not have relationship to Pos, so that the bare statement that relatives act as substitutes for SsN's and LsN's may apply only to the status of the relative in particular contexts.

Examples:

waliohitimu hukubalika kwa kazi hii qualified people are acceptable for this work	S P A
akataaye atahukumiwa he who refuses will be judged	S P

Rel in each sentence is substitute for SsN. No reversal of S in these examples to P S. The relevant SsN may occur and then Rel may be regarded as substitute LsN, e.g.:

SsN-Rel

watu waliohitimu hukubalika kwa kazi hii people who are qualified are acceptable for this work	S P A

By definition a Rel is referential, and so it is not surprising to find that with Dem only one pattern is possible, viz. Dem-Rel, and this is normal behaviour in referential pattern with LsN's, e.g.:

Dem-Rel

wale waliohitimu hukubalika kwa kazi hii S P A
the/those qualified are acceptable for this work

yule akataaye atahukumiwa S P
the one who refuses will be judged

The above typical contexts are the only ones in which Rel operates as nominal substitute in expounding S. In the last three examples Rel could also be classified as Add, but since Rel in these examples is also substitutable by a nominal, it is better to make the distinction between nominal substitute and additioning clause and to classify Rel in these examples as belonging to the former category.

The following examples have Rel as P of Add expounding S:

yeye akataaye kwa hiari atatumiliwa nguvu S P P
he who refuses of his own will will be subjected to force

wale waliohitimu Nairobi wakaanza kazi huko watakubaliwa S P
those who qualified in Nairobi and began work there will be accepted

Or, wale waliohitimu Nairobi na kuanza kazi huko watakubaliwa

The whole stretch before atakmiliwa and before watakubaliwa expounds S, and reversal to P S may occur.

Similarly, constructions in which the morpheme amba- relates by its suffix to a preceding SsN, and which operate as a type of Rel, are also classified as additioning clauses, e.g.:

watu ambao hawakusadiki watahubiriwa tena S P A
the people who did not believe will be preached to again

The stretch watu ambao hawakusadiki expounds S, and there can be reversal to P S.

If Rel has its own O (object), the construction is classified as Add expounding S, e.g.:

aibaye mfuko wangu aiba takataka S P O
who steals my purse steals trash

alimaye shamba huangalia mawingu S P O
the husbandman regards the clouds

If a constituent of S is O of the relative verbal, Rel is classified as Add, e.g.:

zile barua ulizoziandika zimepotea S P
the/those letters you lost are lost

Here *zile barua* is O of Rel, and the stretch *zile barua ulizoziandika* expounds S, and there may be reversal to P S.

Rel with restricted verb *-li* or its negative equivalent may occur in Add expounding S. Although in certain contexts the Add may itself be regarded as substitute for a nominal, it is important to retain the classification of additioning clause. The fact that a nominal may be substituted for Rel is not the same as saying that Rel is a nominal substitute. Examples:

mtoto aliye mwepesi atashinda S P
the child who is quick will succeed

mtoto asiye mwepesi atashindwa S P
the child who is not quick will fail

mtoto niliye naye nyumbani anaugua S P
the child I have at home is ill

gari lisilo na magurudumu haliendi mbali S P A
the car without wheels goes nowhere

5.13. *Pron.* The term Pronominal (Pron) is used of words which function semantically as personal discriminators. In verbs, besides the affixes associated with the different nominal classes, there are affixes associated with each of the three persons, singular and plural. These affixes also have pronominal function as personal discriminators, but they are referred to here as prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

A Pronominal is a separate word used often for emphasis or to indicate more clearly the relevant person/s. Pronominals occur most frequently as S in responses or questions, but are not confined exclusively to these patterns. Examples:

mimi sikubali as for me, I don't agree	S P
yeye alikuja, bali mkewe hakufika he came, but his wife didn't	S P/S P
wao walikuwa peke yao they were by themselves	S P C

In these examples the Prons expounding S are: mimi, yeye, wao.

Reversal to P S occurs, and the emphasis on the Pronominal is then slightly lessened, e.g.:

sikubali mimi I don't agree	P S
walikuwa wao peke yao they were by themselves	P S C

In Swahili Pron is substitute for Dem, but with distinct syntactical behaviour. Compare with the last example:

wale walikuwa peke yao they/those people were by themselves	S P C

Here reversal to P S C is not permissible, but with Pron for Dem it is.

Pron occurs with a nominal in a sort of compound, e.g.:

sisi Waafrika tumeshangaa S P
we Africans are astonished

mimi mwalimu nitakuja kwenu S P A
I, the teacher, will come to your place

yeye mwalimu hakufika kwetu S P A
he, the teacher, didn'tcome to your place

The use of commas in the English translation may suggest that in the Swahili sentences two nominal groups expound S in each sentence, but it is difficult to establish this because variant pronunciations occur with no difference of emphasis. Generally, there is no break between Pron and SsN here, but the break does occur just as it does if Dem is substituted for Pron. We prefer to regard any such break as non-significant, for the emphatic form is expressed by the use of Rel with restricted verb -li. With second person singular and plural, however, the nominal group is a form of address, and a break occurs wherever a comma is used in the following examples. Each nominal group is more properly a vocative interjection than a group expounding S:

ninyi watoto, mtanawa
you children! you will/must wash

Or, ninyi watoto mtanawa
you! children! you will/must wash

Reversal to:

mtanawa, ninyi watoto
you will/must wash, you children

wewe mwalimu, umefanya bidii
you teacher, you have worked hare

Or, wewe, mwalimu, umefanya bidii
you, teacher, you have worked hard

Reversal to:

umefanya bidii, wewe mwalimu
you have worked hard, teacher

Pron-Rel may expound S, and in this context Rel may, provided that it is not the verb of a conditioning clause, be substitute for SsN. If Rel is constructed with verb -li, it must be classified as the verb of Add, since the meaning is different from the form without Rel, e.g.:

sisi waalimu tumefurahi S P
we teachers are glad

sisi tulio waalimu tumefurahi S P
we who are teachers are glad

Implying in the last sentence that it is necessary to indicate that we are teachers and/or that people of some other status or occupation may not be so happy. Additioning clause tulio waalimu, which with sisi expounds S.

mimi daktari nimekataa
I, the doctor, have refused

mimi niliye daktari nimekataa
I who am a doctor have refused

Implying that the status of doctor is particularly relevant.

Rel as substitute for nominal:

sisi tuliopigwa tulilalamika
we who were beaten complained

yeye aliyekufuru hakutubia
he who blasphemed did not repent

The parallel here is not with the order SsN-LsN, but with the order Dem-SsN. This applies even when Pron occurs in a sort of compound with LsN, e.g.:

sisi wachache tutashindwa
we few will be overcome

It can be established that here the LsN is functioning as SsN, because with LsN's of Arabic derivation the prefix used in this type of construction is that associated with SsN's, as follows:

sisi mashujaa hatutashindwa
we brave people will not be overcome

Compare:

sisi tulio shujaa hatutashindwa
we who are brave will not be overcome

sisi tulio wachache tutashindwa
we who are few will be overcome

5.14. LsN -ote. LsN -ote has forms for the three persons which may each occur after the relevant Pron, but Pron may also be omitted, e.g.:

sisi sote tulihudhuria
we all attended

minyi nyote mmekosea
you have all made a mistake

wao wote waliondoka mapema
they all left early

Reversal to P S with or without Pron, e.g.

tutakufa sote
we will all die

mlikwenda nyote
you all went

waliondoka wote
they all left

LsN -ote occurs preceded by Pron and followed by a numeral LsN, and Pron may be omitted, e.g.:

sisi sote watatu tutakuja
all three of us will come

ninyi nyote watatu mtaitwa
all three of you will be called

wao wote wanne walikuja
all four of them came

mtaitwa nyote wanne
all four of you will be called

walikuja wote watatu
the three of them came

LsN -ote occurs after Pron with prefix of Cl. 2, e.g.:

sisi wote tulihudhuria
we all attended

ninyi wote mtaarifiwa
you will all be informed

mtakufa wote
you will all die

5.15. LsN -o-ote. The status of -ote all, whole, and of the form with reduplicated prefix based on -o-ote needs to be discussed. If we accept their classification as Pronominals according to our definition (see 5.13), they have to be distinguished from the forms mimi, wewe, etc., because whereas the latter operate as substitute for Dem, words with stem -ote and with the stem having reduplication, -o-ote, never do. These are LsN's with dual function either as LsN's or as SsN's. In relation to Dem they operate as LsN's, but in relation to Pron of the type mimi they operate as SsN's, e.g.:

wale wote watarudi S P
all of them will return

wao wote watarudi S P
all of them will return

In the first example the actual order is Dem-LsN, since the reverse order LsN-Dem is an impossible sequence. In the second example the first two words are substitute for Dem-SsN, for this has been established for the sequence Pron-LsN.

Provided that this distinction is understood, we may still refer to forms with -ote and -o-ote as Pronominals, because they come within the scope of our definition of Pron. This applies only to their use as personal discriminators in the three personal classes. With reference to a nominal of any other class than Cl. 1 they must be classified as LsN's and since confusion is sure to arise if we call the personal discriminators Prons and the others LsN's, it is more convenient to refer to all -ote forms as LsN's.

LsN -o-ote may in response/referential patterns expound S, and with a preceding SsN or followed by Rel, with or without SsN, may expound S in statements.

In third pers. sing. the variant -e-ote is more common, but -o-ote is tending to become more firmly established. The form is usually written disjunctively, but the tendency is to adopt the conjunctive form, and this will be adopted here.

mtu yeyote anaweza kufika S P C -vn
anyone can come

gazeti lolote litafaa S P
any newspaper will do

With Rel:

chakula chochote kilichopikwa kitanifaa S P(O)
any cooked food will suit me

watu wowote waliochelewa wataadihibiwa S P
any late-comers will be punished

In these examples Rel is an additioning clause, not a substitute for a nominal, because the sequence of -o-ote followed by a nominal is an impossible sequence.

LsN -o-ote may be preceded by a relative construction with verb -wa be, and the affixes relate to an SsN or to its verbal prefix, e.g.:

waingie wawao wowote
let them enter whoever they are

The form wawao wowote expounds S, but the order S P is not acceptable. This construction is often given the same status and the same meaning as -o-ote, but it is an additioning clause. Compare:

ua lolote lanifurahisha
any flower delights me

ua liwalo lolote lanifurahisha
any flower delights me

The last example with its translation is from Loogman's Swahili Grammar, p. 369, and is typical of mainland usage, but a preferable sentence would be as follows:

lanifurahisha ua liwalo lolote
a flower delights me, whatever (flower) it may be

Here the exponent of S is ua and liwalo lolote is an additioning clause.

In this type of additioning clause, the first syllable of -ote is often not reduplicated, e.g. liwalo lote, etc.

This type of additioning clause, which incidentally may not reverse its position in the sentence, has forms for the three persons sing. and plural, but these forms are not used very often, except in the third person, e.g.:

niwaye yeyote	whoever I am
uwaye yeyote	whoever you are
awaye yeyote	whoever he is
tuwao wowote	whoever we are
mwao wowote	whoever you are (pl.)
wao wowote	whoever they are

Or, niwaye yote
uwaye yote
etc.

LsN -o-ote may follow a verbal, not necessarily -wa be, and this constitutes a conditioning clause, e.g.

hatukubali kudhulumiwa sisi tuwe wowote
we do not accept oppression whoever we may be

The conditioning clause tuwe wowote may precede hatukubali, but with an additioning clause the word-order is fixed, e.g.:

hatukubali kudhulumiwa sisi tuwao wowote
we do not accept oppression whoever we may be

In the conditioning clause -o-ote may have prefix (reduplicated) of Cl. 8 used adverbially, e.g.:

hatukubali kudhulumiwa tuwe vyovyote
we do not accept oppression, whatever we may be like

5.16. *LsN -enyewe.* What has been written in 5.15 on the status of *-ote* and *-o-ote* applies equally to LsN *-enyewe.* Preceded by Pron it occurs as substitute for the order Dem-SsN, e.g.:

mimi mwenyewe sikwenda S P
I myself did not go

sisi wenyewe tulifahamu S P
we ourselves understood

Reversal to P S occurs. In sentences of this type without Pron preference is for the order P S, but S P is permiswible, e.g.:

unajua mwenyewe P S
you yourself know

walikuja wenyewe P S
they themselves came

alikuja mwenyewe P S
he himself came

The order S P gives forms which, if the subject-prefix of the verb is third person, are translatable as "the owner/s came", but although in this particular context the status of the *-enyewe* word is then that of an SsN, it cannot be regarded as having in any context the status of an SsN. In most contexts the *-enyewe* word behaves as LsN, e.g., the sequence in which this word is followed by Dem is rejected, as with all LsN's, e.g.:

wale wenyewe walikuja S P
they themselves came

hawa wenyewe hawaelewi S P
they themselves do not understand

If Dem follows *wenyewe* instead of preceding it, we then get two sentences, not one, and the first is a non-verbal sentence, e.g.:

wenyewe hawa ' wamefika
these are they themselves ' they have come

wenyewe wale ' walikuja
those are they themselves ' they came

5.17. Compound with -enye. The stem -enye occurs in SsN's with prefixes of Class 1 and, as extra prefix, of Cl. 6, viz. mwenye/mamwenye, chief/s, important person/s. The stem also occurs in a compound with another word, usually an SsN, but sometimes with a word of a different category, e.g.:

mwenye wallakini haaminiki S P
the person with a but is not reliable

mwenye hana hutafuta kupata S P C -vn
the person with nothing seeks to get something

These uses are with a link word wallakini and with a form expressing "he has not", hana, but such compounds are rare. More often -enye compounds with an SsN or an LsN, as follows:

njia yenye matope huleta taabu S P O
a road with mud brings trouble

maji yenye chumvi hayanyweki S P
water with salt is not drinkable

mwenye nyingi hapendi kupunguliwa S P C -vn
the one who has much doesn't like to have less

mwenye chache hupenda kuzidisha S P C -vn
the one with little likes to get more

mwenye yote hunyamaza kimya S P P
the one with everything keeps quiet

In these examples the SsN's of the compound are matope and chumvi, and the LsN's are nyingi, chache and yote. Note that the -enye word has relationship both to a preceding nominal which in the last three examples is zero and to the constituent part of the compound.

Each of the words to which the -enye form relates may be expanded, e.g.:

ile kofia yenye tundu imeonekana tena S P A
that cap with a hole in it has turned up again

Expansion of kofia:

ile kofia yangu nyekundu iliyopotea ya kitambaa cha sufi ya kutoka Lamu yenye tundu imeonekana tena
that red cap of mine which was lost ' of kapok cloth ' from Lamu ' with a hole ' has turned up again

Such a long sequence does not often occur, but we have to note its permissive use. The -enye compound can occur either as second or third group in the above sentence, but any expansions of kofia when the -enye compound immediately follows kofia must be expressed in an additioning clause followed by separate nominal groups introduced by Dem, e.g.:

ile kofia yenye tundu ambayo ni yangu ' ile nyekundu ' iliyopotea ' ya kitambaa cha sufi ' ya kutoka ' Lamu ' imeonekana tena

Compare:

ile kofia yangu yenye tundu na iliyo nyekundu....

ile kofia nyekundu yenye tundu ambayo ni yangu....

The sequence: SsN-Pos-LsN--enye compound is an impossible sequence. Expansion of the nominal of the -enye compound:

matajiri wenye afisi ile wamefilisika
the merchants who have that office have gone bankrupt

No word can be interpolated between wenye and afisi because wenye afisi is a true compound.

5.18. Ca construction. The Ca connective is an element which in free forms connects two nominal sub-groups or their substitutes. Consonant C in Ca stands for the marker prefix of a preceding nominal, or in fixed forms for a prefix which is outside the system of agreements, i.e., an inoperable prefix. The fixed prefix had no antecedent group. Consideration is given first to free forms in which C stands for an operative prefix.

In Swahili the established convention is to write the element Ca separately. Although most Bantuists would probably prefer to write the element Ca conjunctively, the Swahili convention is not without merit, for this element may be in syntactical relationship not only with a following word, but with a number of words in a nominal group. The element Ca has double syntactic function, being related both to the preceding nominal group and to the following one.

The combination of the first group with Ca is an incomplete utterance in any context, but Ca followed by the second sub-group operates like LsN. Note:

karatasi za....

The word karatasi, papers, is followed by Ca, but this form is incomplete and cannot expound S.

za mwalimu zimefika S P
the teacher's have arrived (of karatasi, Cl. 10)

Here, in response pattern, za mwalimu is substitute LsN and as with LsN's may be preceded by Dem, e.g.:

zile za mwalimu zimefika S P
those (papers) belonging to the teachers have arrived

The two nominal sub-groups are illustrated as follows:

zile karatasi za mwalimu zimefika   S P
the teacher's papers have arrived

A *Ca* connective in relation to its following nominal group is a unit only if the word following C*a* is incapable of expansion either before or after it. Compare:

karatasi za mwalimu
the teacher's papers

karatasi za mwisho
the last papers

In the first of these examples both nominals may be expanded and *za* is then a connective between two nominal sub-groups, e.g.:

karatasi hizi mpya za yule mwalimu mgeni zimefika   S P
these new papers of the visiting teacher have arrived

In the second example the word *mwisho* is not expandable, and *za mwisho* is therefore a unit. Compare:

duka la mzee huyu limefungwa   S P
Or, *duka la huyu mzee limefungwa*   S P
this old man's shop is closed

mzee mwenye duka hili amefariki   S P
the old man whose shop this is has died

The order ...*mwenye hili duka*... is an impossible sequence.

In expounding S, Dem relating to the controlling nominal must precede the -*enye* compound, e.g.:

maji haya yenye chumvi hayanyweki   S P

The order *maji yenye chumvi haya* is impermissible when this nominal group expounds S, but it occurs as a non-verbal sentence meaning "This water has salt in it". In contrast to this the position of Dem in constructions with C*a* connective and expounding S, while generally immediately preceding or following the controlling SsN, may also come after the word following Ca, e.g.:

maji ya moto haya yameanza kupoa S P C -vn
Or, maji haya ya moto yameanza kupoa S P C -vn
this hot water has begun to cool

Similarly, with LsN or Pos, e.g.:

watu wengi wa akili husema hivi... S P A
Or, watu wa akili wengi husema hivi... S P A
many intelligent people speak thus...

Cf. watu wengi wenye akili husema hivi... S P A
many people with intelligence speak thus...

mkono wako wa kulia hauinuliki S P
Or, mkono wa kulia wako hauinuliki S P
your right hand cannot be lifted

Note the use of Pron -o-ote (-e-ote) in relation to the -enye compound:

yeyote mwenye mali atadaiwa S P
anyone with possessions will be claimed from

mwenye mali yeyote atadaiwa S P
any wealthy person will be claimed from

In the first example mwenye mali is substitute for Rel. Both yeyote -SsN and yeyote -LsN are impossible sequences. Compare:

yeyote aliye na mali atadaiwa S P
anyone with possessions will be claimed from

In both positions, both before and after mwenye mali, LsN yeyote is substitute for Dem and refers to the grammatical subject of the group. LsN yeyote may also refer to the SsN of the group, e.g.:

shamba lolote lenye magugu litalimwa S P
any field with weeds will be cultivated

shamba lenye magugu yoyote litalimwa S P
a field with any weeds will be cultivated

Note the contrast of meaning between the following Ca constructions and constructions with -enye compound in the following examples:

mlango huu wa chuma haufunguki S P
this iron door can't be opened

mlango huu wenye chuma haufunguki S P
this door with iron (fittings) can't be opened

kiti hiki cha pembe kilitoka Lamu S P A
this ivory chair came from Lamu

kiti hiki chenye pembe kilitoka Lamu S P A
this chair with ivory in it came from Lamu

mtu huyu wa fikara atasaidia S P
Or, mtu wa fikara huyu atasaidia S P
this thoughtful person will help

mtu huyu mwenye fikara nzito amefiwa S P
this person who has heavy thoughts has been bereaved

It can be seen that the -enye compound is substitutable by Rel, e.g.:

kiti hiki kilicho na pembe kilitoka Lamu S P A
this chair which has ivory (in it) came from Lamu

mtu huyu aliye na fikara nzito amefiwa S P
this person who has heavy thoughts has been bereaved

In a Ca construction the expansion of SsN in either nominal sub-group may itself include one or more Ca constructions, e.g.:

karatasi mpya za serikali za mwalimu zimefika S P
the new government-papers belonging to/for the teacher have come

karatasi za mwalimu wetu wa hesabu zimefika S P
our Math teacher's papers have come

In the above za serikali is an expansion of karatasi, and wa hesabu is an expansion of mwalimu.

In stating that Ca with second nominal sub-group operates as substitute LsN, this applies to the whole stretch za mwalimu wetu wa hesabu, though of course within the stretch wa hesabu is substitute for LsN in relation to mwalimu.

In statements, if the verb occurs earlier in sentences of this type, the subsequent nominals constitute separate groups, i.e. the group expounding S is split. Basically the following sentences are S P:

karatasi mpya za serikali za mwalimu zimefika S P
new government papers for the teacher have arrived

karatasi zimefika, mpya, za serikali, zile za mwalimu S (split) P
papers have come, new ones, government ones, the ones for the teacher

karatasi zimefika, za mwalimu wetu wa hesabu S (split) P
the papers have come, our Math teacher's papers

karatasi mpya za serikali zimefika, zile za mwalimu S (split) P
the new government papers have come, the ones for the teacher

Dem can be omitted in the above, but the longer the sequence between the verb and the final Ca construction, the more necessary it becomes to use Dem referentially.

Since in both the first and second nominal sub-group connected by Ca the SsN or its substitute may be expanded, it is necessary to observe any limit or modification of usage there may be in each sub-group as compared with nominal groups in other contexts.

5.18. In the first nominal sub-group of a Ca construction the relationships between SsN and other non-verbal words of the sub-group are the same as in nominal groups functioning themselves as S.

The dual function of LsN's already noted also applies when the LsN is a constituent of the first nominal sub-group, e.g.:

vile vichache vya jumbe vilipelekwa jana S P A
those few (things) of the headman were sent yesterday (of vitu)

wale wadogo wa nyumbani hawafahamu S P
those youngsters from home don"t understand (of watoto)

Here vichache and wadogo function as LsN's in response/referential pattern.

wakuu wale wa mjini walikuja S P
these village elders came (indicating)

mdogo wa Juma alikuja S P
Or, mdogo wake Juma alikuja S P

Here wakuu and mdogo function as SsN's.

In this connection LsN's are often employed in modern texts where this dual function in Ca constructions is not normal practice amongst speakers for whom Swahili is a first language, and this occurs especially with stems -ingi many, chache few, and with numerals, e.g.:

wengi wa wajumbe waliohudhuria waliondoka mapema S P A
many of the members present left early

mmoja wa wajumbe waliohudhuria alikataa S P
one of the members present refused

wachache wa wajumbe walirudi mapema S P A
a few of the members went back early

While such forms are tolerated by some and used normally by others, preference is given by speakers of Swahili as a first language to the use of an ad-nominal adjunct, e.g.:

wengi miongoni mwa wajumbe waliohudhuria waliondoka mapema S P A
Or, wengi katika wajumbe waliohudhuria waliondoka mapema S P A

Here wengi expounds S and miongoni mwa wajumbe waliohudhuria is classified as modifier of the nominal group structure, also expounding S. The same applies to katika wajumbe waliohudhuria. Each is a type of nominal adjunct, and the position of each is not fixed, e.g.:

miongoni mwa wajumbe waliohudhuria wengi waliondoka mapema S P A
Or, wangi waliondoka mapema miongoni mwa wajumbe waliohudhuria S(split) P A

The expression "one of..." can be translated by a Ca form in which C stands for the locative prefix of Cl. 15, e.g.:

mojawapo mwa shuruti tulizopewa ilibatilishwa S P
one of the conditions we received was done away with

Or, moja mwa shuruti...

Or, mojawapo katika shuriti...

Or, katika shuruti tulizopewa ilibatilishwa mojawepo S (split) P

In the last example S is expounded by mojawepo and the modifier of the nominal group, katika shuruti tulizopewa.

In response/referential pattern, the first nominal subgroup of a Ca construction may consist only of Dem or Pos, e.g.:

ule wa Juma umepotea S P
that one of Juma's is lost (of mpira ball, Cl. 3)

hii ya dhahabu inapendeza S P
this gold one is nice (of pete ring, Cl. 9)

yangu ya zamani haifai tena S P A
my old one is no good any more (of kalamu pen, Cl. 9)

wetu wa pili anasoma Tanga S P A
our second one goes to school in Tanga (of mtoto child, Cl.1)

The use of Rel in first nominal sub-group of a Ca construction is limited to Rels functioning as substitute for nominals. Rel functioning as LsN in relation to first SsN of a Ca construction has preferred position after the Ca construction, e.g.:

wanafunzi waliohitimu wa shule yetu...

This is permissible word-order, but preference is given to the following:

wanafunzi wa shule yetu waliohitimu wamestahili sifa S PP
the pupils of our school who qualified deserve praise

The preferred pattern leaves room for any further expansions which may not occur within the Ca construction, e.g.:

wanafunzi wa shule yetu waliohitimu wakapata kazi
wamestahili sifa S PP
the pupils of our school who qualified and obtained work
deserve praise

The whole stretch from wanafunzi...kazi expounds S, and reversal to P S is permissible.

Ca construction with first nominal sub-group a Rel is more often expressed by the use of Adjunct, e.g.:

waliohitimu wa shule yetu wamestahili sifa S PP
the qualified from our school deserve praise

Preferably:

katika shule yetu waliohitimu wamestahili sifa A S PP

Compare:

watu wa mali wenye kiburi hawatakiwi S P
wealthy people who are proud are not wanted

watu wa kiburi wenye mali hawatakiwi S P
proud people who have wealth are not wanted

But the sequence of: SsN, -enye compound, Ca form is an impossible sequence if SsN is meant to control the Ca form, e.g.:

watu wenye mali wa kiburi...

This is an impossible sequence, but if the second word of the -enye compound controls the Ca form, this sequence is of very common occurrence, e.g.:

watu wenye mashamba ya mtama watatozwa kodi S PP
people with fields of millet will be taxed

LsN -o-ote occurs as first nominal sub-group of a Ca construction only if the construction has its own conditioning (Con) or additioning (Add) clause, e.g.:

yeyote wa nchi hii atakayemsaidia adui atauawa S P
anyone belonging to this country helping the enemy will be killed

wowote wa kijiji hiki watahukumiwa kifungo
wakimsaidia adui S PP/P O
aany from this village will be imprisoned if they help the enemy

Here atakayemsaidia adui is Add and wakimsaidia adui is Con.

Note the following example with Rel followed by -o-ote:

awaye yeyote wa mji huu atakayemsaidia adui atauawa Rel ' S P
anyone whoever he is from this village who helps the enemy
will be killed

In this example awaye yeyote is a conditioning clause and not first nominal sub-group of the Ca construction. This is established by the fact that it may follow wa mji huu or atauawa, but first nominal sub-group of Ca construction expounding S cannot follow P.

5.19. In the second nominal sub-group of a Ca construction the relationships between constituent words of the sub-group are generally the same as in the first nominal sub-group, but Dem occurring in a sequence with SsN-LsN or SsN-Pos-LsN occurs immediately before SsN or LsN and not in final position in the sequence.

Compare:

mzigo mzito ule umeanguka S P
that heavy load has fallen down (indicating)

But in Ca construction:

uzito wa ule mzigo mkubwa ulizidi S P
the weight of the/that big load was excessive

uzito wa mzigo ule mkubwa umezidi S P
the weight of that big load is excessive (indicating)

LsN may constitute second nominal sub-group, functioning either as LsN in response/referential patterns or as SsN, e.g.:

As LsN:

ncha ya ule mrefu unaonekana S P
the point of the/that long one is visible (of upondo pole Cl.11)

mti wa ile ndefu umeharibika S P
the wood of that long one is destroyed (of ngazi ladder, Cl.9)

As SsN:

kitanda cha mgonjwa yule kimeingia kunguni S PP
that patient's bed has bugs in it

chumba cha wageni wale kimekuwa tayari S P C
the room for those visitors is ready

hatua za wafupi hazifiki mbali S P A
short peopl's steps do not reach far

vitabu vya wengi havisomeki S P
the books of many (writers) are not readable

In the last examples the nominal in the second subgroup may be expanded, but a numeral in this position may not be expanded, e.g.:

siku ya pili ilikuja S P
the second day came

siri ya mmoja yafichika S P
the secret of one (person) can be hidden (no one else knows it)

siku ya pili yake ilikuja S P
the next day came

In the last example Pos *yake* relates grammatically to *siku*, not to *pili*, and generally Pos follows the SsN before a C*a* construction, e.g.:

neno lake la tatu lilikuwa hili
his third word was this (the third point he made was this)

In response/referential pattern the second nominal subgroup of a C*a* construction may consist only of Dem or Pos, e.g.:

Q. kitabu cha nani kimepotea? S P
whose book is lost?

A. cha huyu kimepotea S P
this person"s is lost

Q. kifungo hiki ni cha joho lake nani? Non-verbal
whose coat does this button belong to?

A. cha langu
it belongs to mine

When both sub-groups are employed in a C*a* construction, the occurrence of Dem as second sub-group is permissible but of infrequent occurrence. It is preferable to include the respective SsN after Dem or to use Pos with Dem, e.g.:

kitabu cha huyu kimepotea S P
this one's book is lost

But preferably:

kitabu cha huyu mtoto kimepotea
this child's book is lost

Or, kitabu chake huyu kimepotea

Or, kitabu chake huyu mtoto kimepotea

As a constituent of the second nominal sub-group of a Ca construction expounding S, Pron mimi, wewe, etc., needs to be accompanied by -enyewe or -ote or by an SsN in a sort of compound. It never occurs in this position as the sole constituent of the second nominal sub-group, but may be in conjunctive relationship to another Pron or to an SsN. Examples:

habari hii ya sisi wenyewa haitafika mbali S P A
this information about ourselves will not reach far

nchi hii ya sisi Waafrika itafanikiwa S P
this country belonging to us Africans will prosper

ile habari ya yeye peke yake ilinifikia jana S P A
the news about him alone reached me yesterday

In the last example peke yake is modifier of the nominal sub-group.

This type of construction is more common in non-verbal sentences, with or without the copula ni or its negative si, e.g.:

habari hii ya sisi wenyewe
Or, habari hii ni ya sisi wenyewe
this information concerns/belongs to us ourselves

nyumba hii ya mimi mwenyewe
this house is my very own

Or, nyumba hii ni ya mimi mwenyewe
habari hii ya yeye peke yake
this information concerns/belongs to him alone

The negative copula usually has referential suffix, e.g.:

nchi hii siyo ya ninyi Wazungu
this country does not belong to you Europeans

While constructions of this type expounding S are permissible, preference is for constructions with Pos or Rel, e.g.:

siri hii juu yetu (sisi) haitafika mbali S P A
this secret concerning ourselves will not reach far

habari ile iliyomhusu yeye peke yake ilinifikia jana S P(O) A
the information concerning him alone reached me yesterday

Or, habari ile ambayo yamhusu yeye peke yake ilinifikia jana S P(O) A

Or with Ca construction and second nominal sub-group a verbo-nominal of Cl. 12, e.g.:

habari ile ya kumhusu yeye peke yake ilinifikia jana S P(O) A

In this example Ca may be omitted.

Note Pron as second nominal sub-group in conjunctive relationship with SsN or Pron:

mashauri ya yeye na mkewe yalibatilishwa S P
the matters concerning him and his wife were annulled

kitambaa hiki cha mimi na wewe kimeletwa na mama S P A
this cloth for me and you was brought by our mother

Pron -enyewe may operate as second nominal sub-group of a Ca construction, and its function is that of SsN, e.g.:

mali ya mwenyewe imeibiwa S P
the owner's property has been stolen

In combination with an SsN, -enyewe functions as LsN, e.g.:

mali ya mwanamke mwenyewe imeibiwa S P
the property of the woman herself has been stolen

With Pos:

mali yake mwanamke mwenyewe imeibiwa S P

With Dem relating to the possessor:

mali yake mwenyewe yule mwanamke imeibiwa S P

LsN -o-ote may operate as second nominal sub-group of a Ca construction, e.g.:

mitambo ya yoyote asili yake imeundwa Swisi S P A
the workings of any one of them were made originally in Switzerland (of saa watch)

Here asili yake is modifier of the first nominal sub-group and the verb is controlled by mitambo. If instead of asili yake the form kwa asili is substituted, this is an adjunct modifying P.

mkate wa yeyote autakaye utapatikana hapa S P A
bread for anyone who wants it will be obtainable here

In this example autakaye is Add relating to yeyote.

Note with Rel based on -wa be,:

nyumba ya awaye yeyote anayenipenda itanifaa S P(O)
the house of anyone at all who likes me will do for me

Here awaye yeyote is Add functioning as SsN and has its own imbedded Add, anayenipenda, which functions as LsN. Note that the form awe yeyote cannot be substituted here, because it is a conditioning clause, and this type of clause cannot operate as substitute LsN. Compare:

nyumba ya yule anayenipenda itanifaa, awe yeyote S P(O) ' P C
the house of the one who likes me will do for me, whoever he may be

Rel may operate as second nominal sub-group of a Ca construction, e.g.:

maneno ya walio na hekima huwafaa vijana S P O
the words of the wise are good for young people

vitendo vya waliokamatwa vilitushangaza S P(O)
the actions of those arrested amazed us

With restricted verbal -*li* be, as in the first example, Rel has general reference to a type or class of person, but with a full verbal, as in the second example, the reference is more specific, and for this reason Dem is often employed, as follows:

vitendo vya wale waliokamatwa...

An alternative construction is with Pos, as follows:

vitendo vyao waliokamatwa...

The second nominal sub-group may be represented by an Add in which the verb is Rel, e.g.:

malipo ya asiyefanya kazi hii vizuri yatapunguzwa
the wages (payment) of the one who does not do this job well
will be lessened

Here *asiyefanya kazi hii vizuri* is Add functioning as LsN. Preferably the same meaning is expressed with Pos:

malipo yake asiyefanya kazi hii vizuri...
Or, *asiyefanya kazi hii vizuri malipo yake yatapunguzwa* S P

Here Add is modifier of the nominal group *malipo yake*, and the whole stretch *asiyefanya*...*yake* in the last example expounds S.

Rel expansion with Complementing Clause:

vyeti vya waliotuhumiwa wameisaliti nchi yao vilizuiliwa
na serikali S P A
the papers of those suspected of betraying their country
were withheld by the government

Second nominal sub-group of a *Ca* construction is an adnominal, for it relates to the first nominal sub-group. In other contexts the constituents of the adnominal may have adverbial function as adjuncts of the verb, e.g.:

watu walikuja mjini
people came to the village

Here mjini is adjunct.

Compare:

watu wa mjini walikuja
village-people came

Here wa mjini is adnominal with the constituent of the sub-group a member of the grammatical category called Locative. All adnominals are substitutes for LsN's, and the term Adjunct is reserved for words with adverbial function.

Some secondary sub-groups of the Ca construction consist of a word with fixed prefix which in other contexts may operate as component of PP. The constituent in secondary sub-groups of this type is a fixed form, i.e., it is not expandable, e.g.:

mtoto mmoja wa kike alikuja kwetu — S P A
one girl (female child) came to our place

Compare the use of kike in PP:

amekatika kike — PP
she is very feminine, lit. she has been cut out, or carved out, in feminine fashion

Again:

vitu vya kisasa vinauzwa dukani — S P A
modern things are being sold at the store

In expounding S, a second sub-group of a Ca construction may be a fixed form, but in a different type of sentence it may be free, e.g.:

mtu huyu wa taratibu atatusaidia — S P(O)
this gentle (orderly) person will help us

In this context it is unacceptable to expand taratibu, for the following is preferred if the equivalent of an expansion is needed:

mtu huyu mwenye taratibu nyingi atatusaidia S P(O)
this very orderly person will help us

But compare in a non-verbal sentence:

yeye ni mtu wa taratibu nyingi
he is a very well-ordered person

With locative as constituent of second sub-group:

safari yetu ya baharini imeahirishwa S P
our sea voyage has been postponed

kazi yangu ya nyumbani imemalizika S P
my homework is finished

mkono wa kuume haukati ule wa kushoto S P O
the right hand does not cut the left

In this last example, locative prefix ku- of Cl. 13 occurs with stem -ume and stem -shoto, a rare occurrence because in Swahili, locatives usually omit this prefix and generally, but not invariably, have extra-suffix -ni. With stems -ume and -shoto forms occur with both prefix ku- and extra-suffix -ni. The adnominals wa kuume and wa kushoto are not expandable here, but expansions of the locative in second sub-group do occur with Pos or Dem, e.g.:

karani wa forodhani ameacha kazi S P O
the customs clerk has left his job

karani wa kule forodhani ameacha kazi S P O
the clerk at the customs has left his job

So long as Ca is retained, the locative is adnominal, but when, as here, it may be omitted there is no formal marker such as fixed word-order to indicate that the locative is still an exponent of S. For this reason, it must be classified as Adjunct relating to the verb, e.g.:

karani kule forodhani ameacha kazi
the clerk, at the customs, has left his job   S A P O

Or, *kule forodhani karani ameacha kazi*
at the customs, the clerk has left his job   A S P O

Or, *karani ameacha kazi kule forodhani*
the clerk has left his job at the customs   S P O A

If constituent of second sub-group is a fixed word occurring in other contexts as SsN or as an invariable, but not a locative, omission of C*a*, if it occurs, results in a compound, but not necessarily a compound capable of expounding S, e.g.:

mtu huyu wa ghafula amesahau hata jina lake mwenyewe   S P O
this absent-minded person has forgotten even his own name

An alternative fixed word for *ghafula* in the last example is *sahau* which in other contexts occurs as the stem of the verb *-sahau* forget, *mtu huyu wa sahau* forgetful person. Note the use of *hata* as modifier of the nominal group expounding O.

5.20. *Verbo-nominal as Subject*. A verbo nominal (VN) of Cl. 12 may operate as SsN in expounding S:

kutembea kwafaa kwa afya
walking is good for health   S P A

kusikilizana kwajenga taifa
good relations builds a nation (listening to one another)   S P O

Note that in the passive restatement of a sentence with O in which S is expounded by a VN, the nominal group of S in the original sentence occurs with kwa, not na, in Adjunct:

taifa kwajengwa kwa kusikilizana S P A
a nation is built by good relations (by listening to one another)

The VN also has verbal characteristics while operating as a nominal, e.g., it may have an object or object-infix, or/and may have a separable extension to the radical, e.g.:

kumwona mama kumeleta furaha S P O
seeing my mother has brought happiness

kuwapiga watoto kumekatazwa S P
beating the children is forbidden

kuwasomesha kwafaa S P
teaching them is good

kunichukiza kwake kumenisikitisha sana S P A
his disliking me has made me very sorry

VN with stem -wa be, has only restricted use. It occurs only with Pos in expounding S, and extra suffix -ko, -po, or -mo is enployed, e.g.:

kuwako kwetu kuliwapendeza S P(O)
our being there pleased them

Variant for kuwako is kuweko, a modification of no grammatical significance. The nominal group may have a locative or its equivalent as its modifier, and this is part of the group expounding S, e.g.:

kuweko kwetu mkutanoni kuliwapendeza S P(O)
our being there at the meeting pleased them

kuweko kwetu kwenye pombe kuliwapendeza S P(A)
our being there where there was beer pleased them

In the last example kwetu has prefix of Cl. 12 and kwenye has locative prefix of Cl. 13.

The VN has a negative form with kutoku- or kuto-, as follows:

kutokuweko kwetu kuliwashangaza S P(A)
our not being there surprised them

kutokutembea kutaharibu afya yako S P O
Or, kutotembea kutaharibu afya yako S P O
not walking will damage your health

The occurrence of words of other categories with verbo-nominals is affected by the hybrid function of the latter. Some verbo-nominals are modified by an LsN which forms part of the nominal group, or by an adjunct. This is due to semantic determination partly in reference to the meaning of the verbo-nominal and partly to the meaning of the modifying word. For example:

kuimba kubaya hakunipendezi S P(O)
bad singing does not please

kuimba vibaya hakunipendezi S P(O)
to sing/singing badly does not please me

The second example has adjunct vibaya. Any distinction of meaning corresponds to the relationship of the verbo-nominal to its modifying word, i.e., it is nominal in the first example and verbal in the second. Even in the second example, however, the verbo-nominal has nominal function in relation to the verb. The basic identity of meaning is more obvious when Pos is used to particularize the verbo-nominal, e.g.:

kuimba kwake kubaya hakunipendezi S P(O)
his bad singing does not please me

kuimba kwake vibaya hakunipendezi S P(O)
his singing badly does not please me

Other verbo-nominals may not have this alternate modification, e.g.:

kupanda kwa vibaya kwaleta hasara S P O
planting badly brings loss

The LsN kubaya is not used with reference to kupanda.

kulala (kwake) kwa uvivu kumempotezea mengi S P(O) C
(his) sleeping lazily has lost him a great deal

The LsN kuvivu is not permissible here.

A verbo-nominal modified by an LsN may also be modified by an adjunct, but not all verbo-nominals modified by an adjunct may be modified alternatively by an LsN.

5.21. Verbo-nominal with Dem as S. A demonstrative in agreement precedes the verbo-nominal to express the equivalent of the gerund in English. The function of Dem in this position is not primarily referential, though in some contexts it may be so.

huku kusimama kunanichosha S P(O)
this standing-up tires me

kule kuonekana kwa lile gazeti kulikomeshwa S P
the appearance of that newspaper was brought to an end

huku kukohoa kwake kuliendelea S P
this coughing of his continued

The initial position of Dem allows for expansion of the nomino-verbal, even to the inclusion of an expressed subject and/or a modifier:

kule Juma kusema nameno yale hivyo kulitushangaza S P(O)
Juma's talking like that surprised us

kule kusema kwake Juma bila kufikiri kulitushangaza S P(O)
Juma's talking like that without thinking surprised us

Dem in agreement following the VN modifies the meaning of the VN, though the modification is not always expressed in translation, e.g.:

kulewa huku kutaleta aibu S P O
drinking of this kind will bring shame
Or, drinking in this way will bring shame

Here kulewa huku emphasizes, not the manner of drinking, but the activity of drinking as such. Even if we translate it as 'drinking in this way', the Dem giving this connotation relates to VN as to a nominal. Compare:

kulewa hivyo kutaleta aibu
drinking in that way (or, like that) will bring shame

Here hivyo relates to VN as to a verb.

Identity of shape between words of Cl. 12 and those of Cl. 13 gives ambiguity. The following sentences may have two meanings:

kulewa kwetu kutaleta aibu S P O
our being drunk will bring shame (kwetu, Cl. 12)
Or, being drunk at our home will bring shame (kwetu, Cl. 13)

kutembea huku kwatupa afya S P(O) C
walking like this keeps us healthy (huku, Cl. 12)
Or, walking hereabouts gives us health (huku, Cl. 13)

This is identity of shape in Dem, a factor of some importance with reference to adjunctival constructions, including locatives. These examples indicate that where there is apparent, not actual, agreement, not only the functional but also the grammatical distinction between forms of identical shape must be made. Generally, any ambiguity is resolved by the use of complementary adverbial or locative words, e.g.:

kulewa hapa kwetu kutaleta aibu S P O
being drunk here at our place will bring shame

kutembea huku mjini kwatupa afya S P(O) C
walking hereabouts in the town keeps us healthy

Even without such supplementary words, there is usually no ambiguity within any given context. The ambiguity lies more within the interpretation of grammatical relationships, especially where there may be only one meaning, but two likely interpretations of the grammatical structure.

The function of a Cl. 12 long-series prefix in Ca construction is to connect nominals in possessive relationship, e.g.:

kufa kwa mama kulinitia huzuni S PP(O)
my mother's death made me sad

The alternative form with Pos is more frequently employed, but either may occur, e.g.:

kufa kwake mama kulinitia huzuni S PP(O)

Examples of Ca construction in Cl. 12:

kuingia kwa Mwalimu Nyerere katika siasa kulitupa faida S P(O) C
Mwalimu Nyerere's entering politics benefited us

kutoka kwa Tom katika chama chetu hakukumuudhi mtu S P O
Tom's leaving our party hurt no one

kutoweka kwa jini kulimstaajabisha Ali Baba S P O
The disappearance of the genie astonished Ali Baba

kupandisha kwa bendera mpya kulipigiwa kofi S PP
the raising of the new flag was applauded

kuzaliwa kwa taifa letu kulihimiza uhuru kwa nchi za majirani S P O A
the birth of our nation hastened freedom for neighboring countries

kufika kwa mjomba sikukuu ya Idi kulitufurahisha S P(O)
my uncle's arriving on the day of the Idi festival
delighted us

Note that in each of the above examples *Ca* of Cl. 12 may be omitted, but the word-order is fixed, e.g.:

kuingia mwalimu Nyerere katika siasa kulitupa faida S P(O) C
Mwalimu Nyerere's entering politics benefited us

Compare:

Mwalimu Nyerere kuingia katika siasa kulitupa faida S P(O) C
for Mwalimu Nyerere to enter politics, it benefited us

This is a different type of sentence from the previous example, and is a contracted form of:

kwa Mwalimu Nyerere kuingia katika siasa kulitupa faida S P(O) C

Here the stretch *kwa*...*siasa* is Adjunct, and prefix *ku-* of the verb is Cl. 13, not Cl. 12. An alternative prefix for *ku-* is Cl. 9 prefix *i-*, but neither prefix relates to an antecedent, so these prefixes are fixed forms. Even so there is group-shift here, since the element of structure which is A functions as S. Similar examples show that in this type of sentence A functioning as S can be introduced by other fixed forms, e.g.:

ya kuwa unamwandikia kila siku kunanikasirisha sana S P(O) A
that you are writing to her every day makes me very angry

ya kwamba anapiga simu kila wakati kunanirabishi akili S PP(O)
that he is constantly telephoning upsets me

Prefix *ku-* in both of these examples can be substituted by *i-* of Cl. 9, though to speak of them as belonging to any class is anomalous since the verbal prefixes here are outside the system of agreements. It is more correct to say that they have the shape of prefix of Cl. 13 and of Cl. 9.

Contrast:

huku kupiga simu kwake kila siku kulinisumbua S P(O)
this ringing-up of his every day annoyed me

hivyo kupiga simu kwake kila siku kulinisumbua S P(O)
his ringing-up in this/that way every day annoyed me

In the first example here the stretch *huku*...*siku* expounds S and the agreements are in Cl. 12, and in the second example the stretch *hivyo*...*siku* does the same. The initial position of *hivyo* is irrelevant, since it could also occur after *kwake* or after *kila siku.*

5.22. *VN with long-series words in S group*. Pos usually takes precedence over LsN in relation to VN, e.g.:

kulala kwake kwingi kumemrudishia afya S P(+O) C
his much sleeping has restored his health

Or, *kulala kwake kwa wingi*...
his sleeping a lot

Here *kwa wingi* is adjunct.

kukataa kwake kukali kuliwachukiza S P(O)
his fierce refusal offended them

But preferably:

kukataa kwake kikali kuliwachukiza S P(O)
his refusing fiercely offended them

In adjuncts, the fixed prefixes are not alternates with any given stem, e.g., *kwa uchache*, but not *kichache*, *kidogo* but not *kwa udogo*.

Dem in relation to VN with LsN has the same function as with a VN without LsN. Dem expressing the equivalent of a gerund occurs either before the VN or before LsN, e.g.:

	kule kuimba kuzuri kulitokea upande wa kanisa	S P +0
Or,	kuimba kule kuzuri kulitokea upande wa kanisa	S P +0
	that beautiful singing came from the neighborhood of the church	

Dem after the LsN:

	kusema kwingi huku kutakupotezea marafiki	S P(+0) C
	this kind of garrulity will lose you friends	
Or,	speaking much hereabouts will lose you friends	

Ca construction following VN with LsN is not acceptable in Cl. 12. If such a form occurs, it is instinctively regarded as possessive, but unacceptable, e.g.:

kusema kwingi kwa Abdallah kulinisikitisha — S P(0)
Abdallah's much speaking made me sorry

Preferably:

kusema kwake kwingi Abdallah kulinisikitisha — S P(0)

kulewa kwingi kwa Abdallah kutampotezea akili — S P(+0) C
Abdallah's heavy drinking will lose him his wits

Preferably:

kulewa kwake kwingi Abdallah kutampotezea akili — S P(+0) C

Ca construction following VN with Pos is locative, but the inclusion of a specific locative word is preferred:

kulelewa kwake kwa Abdallah kulimfaa — S P(0)
his up-bringing at Abdallah's did him good

Preferably:

kulelewa kwake nyumbani kwa Abdallah kulimfaa — S P(0)

A verbo-nominal may have an object. Dem may precede both with the meaning of the gerund, or precede or follow the object to express emphasis on the verbal activity, as follows:

huku kunywa pombe kumezidi S P
this beer-drinking has increased

kunywa huku pombe kumezidi S P
Or, *kunywa pombe huku kumezidi* S P
this business of drinking beer has increased

Or, drinking beer in this way has increased

Or, drinking beer hereabouts has increased

Pos may either precede or follow the object. If the object is expanded Dem may follow the expansion, but Pos may not do so e.g.:

kupiga ngoma kwake kulionyesha ufundi mwingi S P O
his drumming showed much expertise

kupiga kwake ngoma ile ndogo iitwayo tari kulitushangaza S P(O)
his playing on the small hand-drum called *tari* surprised us

Whereas Pos may not follow *tari* in the last example, Dem may do so, but only in Cl. 13, not Cl. 12, e.g.:

kupiga ngoma ile ndogo iitwayo tari kule kulitushangaza S P(O)
that playing on the small hand-drum called *tari* surprised us
Or, playing on the small hand-drum called *tari* there surprised us

Preferably Dem follows *kupiga* or *ngoma*.

C*a* construction in which C stands for Cl. 12 prefix cannot occur after the object of a nomino-verbal, e.g.:

huku kupiga ngoma kwa wageni kutaendelea usiku kuchwa S P A
this drumming for the visitors will go on all night

Here *kwa wageni* is an adjunct with fixed prefix *ku-* (*kw-*), but it relates to the verbo-nominal, not to the verb of P.

5.23. *Covert and Overt Verbs.* In expounding S, the only Rels relating to Cl. 12 verbo-nominal are those in which the Rel belongs to a covert sub-class of verbs. It is necessary to explain what is meant by covert sub-class of verbs, as follows:

kushona kwetu kuliendelea mpaka jioni S P A
our sewing continued until the evening

The stems -shona sew, and -endelea continue, are irreversible. The stem -shona sew, cannot occur as Rel in reference to a verbo-nominal, but only in reference to a nominal of another class, e.g.:

ile nguo uliyoishona imepasuka tena S P A
that garment you sewed is split again

In relation to a nominal of Cl. 1-11 the stem -endelea operates in the same way, but unlike -shona it operates as Rel also in relation to a verbo-nominal, e.g.:

ile kazi iliyoendelea mpaka jioni imekwisha sasa S P A
the work that went on until evening is finished now

A verb belonging to a covert sub-class may occur with a verbo-nominal of Cl. 12 as Complement, but a verb belonging to an overt sub-class may not do so, e.g.:

nataka kusoma P C -vn
I want to read

naanza kusoma sasa P C -vn A
I am beginning to read now

In these examples the radicals are irreversible. Stem -soma cannot take a verbo-nominal as C, but -taka and -anza, the covert verbs, do so. The covert verbs may operate as Rel in relation to -soma, but not vice versa, e.g.:

kule kusoma kulikotakiwa na mwalimu kulitolewa
na ndugu yangu S P A
the reading that was wanted by the teacher was given
by my brother

huku kusoma kulikoanza asubuhi kutamalizika jioni S P A
the reading which began in the morning will finish in the evening

Any Rel relating to a Cl. 12 verbo-nominal is in that context a covert verb, e.g.:

kupiga ngoma kulikokatazwa zamani kidogo kumeruhusiwa tena S P A
the drumming which was forbidden a short time ago is allowed again

kule kuiba kulikoanza majuzi kumekomeshwa S P
the stealing which began the other day has been stopped

kupangusa kwako kulikomalizika hivyo upesi hakukusafisha kitu S P O
your dusting which finished so quickly will not clean a thing

Rel in relation to a Cl. 12 verbo-nominal is not a satisfactory substitute for SsN because the covert nature of Rel in Cl. 12 is a factor acting against its use in this way. Rel with Cl. 12 affixes occurs only in response/referential pattern, whereas Rel with affixes relating to Cl. 1 or 2 occurs in initial statements. Most examples of Rel as SsN substitute having affixes of the same shape as those of Cl. 12 are Rels with affixes of Cl. 13, e.g.:

kulikopigwa ngoma kulitokea fujo S P C
where the drumming was there was a disturbance

kulikokimbiwa na mabweha kulijiwa na masimba S P A
where the jackals ran from, there the lions came

Verbo-nominals of Cl. 12 with stem of a covert verb may, nevertheless, operate as SsN controlling agreements in other words, including the verb of the sentence. This type of sentence occurs with nominal group SsN-Pos or SsN-Ca construction, expounding S, e.g.:

kuendelea kwake shuleni kuliwafurahisha wazazi wake S P O
his progress in school made his parents happy

huku kumalizika kwa ngoma upesi kulileta ugomvi S P O
this finishing of the dance quickly brought quarrelling

More often Cl. 12 verbo-nominals expound S by having an object or consecutive objects, the object in each instance being another verbo-nominal of Cl. 12, e.g.:

kupenda kusafiri kuliwaingia moyoni S P(O) A
love of travelling got into them

kuendelea kujifunza kazi hii kumenisaidia S P(O)
continuing learning this work has helped me

kuendelea kujifunza kushona kumenisaidia S P(O)
continuing learning to sew has helped me

kutaka kusafiri kwenda kumwona mpenzi wangu
kuliniingia moyoni S P(O) A
wanting to travel to go to see my beloved got into me

A verbo-nominal as first sub-group of a Ca construction does not employ an object-infix because the use of Ca invalidates any direct relationship with the second nominal sub-group. The function of a Cl. 12 prefix in Ca is to connect nominals in possessive relationship, and the possessor is represented by the second nominal sub-group. The term 'possessor' here is used in the sense either of an animate or an inanimate to which the action indicated in the first sub-group belongs. If second sub-group is represented as an animate, preference is given to the use of Pos, e.g.:

kushona kwake dada kulinipendeza S P(O)
my sister-s sewing pleased me

kushona kwa dada kulinipendeza S P(O)
my sister's sewing/sewing at my sister's pleased me

The latter sentence is ambiguous, but not all sentences of this type are ambiguous, and are accepted as permissible alternatives for those with Pos, e.g.:

kukiri kwa dada kuimba mbele za hadhara kulishangiliwa S P
my sister's assenting to sing in public was applauded

Or, kukiri kwake dada...

If second sub-group is represented by an inanimate, preference is given to the passive form of the verbo-nominal of the first sub-group. In most instances this is the only permissible form since obviously the active form does not need a Ca construction, being in direct relationship to the object. The same applies to sentences in which second sub-group is animate but only if the semantic reference allows it, e.g.:

kulipwa kwa wapagazi mapema kuliwafurahisha S P(O)
the porters' being paid early pleased them

Cf. kuwalipa wapagazi mapema kuliwafurahisha S P(O)
paying the porters early pleased them

kuhesabu huku kwa pesa kuliendelea mpaka jioni S P A
Or, kuhesabiwa huku kwa pesa...
this counting of money went on until evening

Cf. huku kuhesabu pesa kuliendelea mpaka jioni S P A
this counting of money went on until the evening

In classifying this type of construction, we must have regard to the semantic reference of both sub-groups, a factor which makes general statements difficult. The forms kulipwa kwa wapagazi and kushonwa kwa nguo or kushona kwa nguo are valid forms, but kushonwa kwa dada is not. In relation to dada the distinction between active and passive where both can be employed is significant, but in relation to pesa above the distinction is not significant, e.g.:

kukubali kwa dada kwenda Nairobi kulinishangaza S P(O)
my sister's agreeing to go to Nairobi surprised me

kukubaliwa kwa dada hospitalini kuliniondoa mashaka S PP(O)
my sister's being accepted in hospital removed my doubts

In most contexts, the verbo-nominal in first sub-group is intransitive, i.e., either passive or neuter-passive. Ca may be omitted, but the word-order is fixed, e.g.:

kuondolewa kwa mjumbe katika kiji chake kulitokea kwa ghafula S P A
the removal of the member from his seat took place suddenly

kuondoka kwa Wazungu katika nchi yetu kulitokea hivi S P A
the Europeans' departure from our country happened like this

kupigwa kwa ngoma muda wote kuliniudhi masikio yangu S P(O) C
the beating of drums the whole time offended my ears

If the verbo-nominal of first sub-group has an expressed object, Ca is omitted, but the word-order is fixed, e.g.:

kupelekewa baba barua hii kulimfurahisha S P(O)
my father's being sent this letter pleased him

kulipwa vibarua haki yao kulihimizwa na chama S P A
the labourers' being paid their due was hastened by the union

Cf. kupelekewa kwake baba barua hii kulimfurahisha S P(O)

Or, kupelekewa kwa baba barua hii kulimfurahisha S P(O)

kulipwa kwao vibarua haki yao...

Or, kulipwa kwa vibarua haki yao...

Verbo-nominal with reciprocal extension may expound S, e.g.:

kupigana baina ya Urusi na China hakutatokea S P
fighting between Russia and China will not take place

A recent development is the use of a verbo-nominal with reciprocal ending as first sub-group of a Ca construction, e.g.:

kupigana kwa Urusi na China kunatazamiwa S P
fighting between Russia and China is expected

kupendana kwa mimi na wewe kutaendalea kusitawi S P C -vn
the love between me and you will continue to flourish

This type of construction is not approved by most speakers of Swahili as a first language, but it occurs in the East African press and in the speech of Africans. The traditionalists would prefer:

kupendana kwetu mimi na wewe kutaendelea kusitawi S P C -vn
our mutual love will continue to flourish

When S is expounded by a verbo-nominal introducing a statement of fact, there may be anomalous agreement in Cl. 5 in the verbal. Since the Cl. 5 subject-prefix has no antecedent, it is, strictly speaking, outside the system of agreements, but there is an implied reference to such Cl. 5 nominals as jambo or neno, e.g.:

kukubali kwa dada kwenda Nairobi limetushangaza S P(O)
my sister's agreeing to go to Nairobi surprised us

It is reasonable to suggest that this is a contraction of the following:

kukubali kwa dada kwenda Nairobi, jambo hili limetushangaza S P(O)
my sister's agreeing to go to Nairobi, this matter surprised us

In this sentence the stretch kukubali...Nairobi is an additioning clause, and the whole stretch kukubali...hili expounds S.

If the object-infix of the main verb represents the actor/s of the verbal activity expressed in the verbo-nominal, the preferred word-order is P S, e.g.:

limetushangaza kusikia dada amekwenda Nairobi P(O) S
it has surprised us to hear that my sister has gone to Nairobi

Cf. jambo hili limetushangaza kusikia dada amekwenda Nairobi S(split) P(O)
this matter surprises us to hear that my sister has gone to Nairobi

The stretch kusikia...Nairobi is still an additioning clause with imbedded complementing clause dada amekwenda Nairobi, and this stretch, with or without jambo hili expounds S.

In the forms without jambo hili, verbal prefix of Cl. 12 in agreement with the verbo-nominal is an alternative to the anomalous agreement.

The order P S is generally preferred when the verbo-nominal has anomalous agreement with the verb. Note the following examples with verbal prefix of the shape of Cl. 9 verbal prefix:

inataka bidii kumaliza kazi hii S(split) P O
it needs zeal to finish this work

Or, kunataka bidii kumaliza kazi hii S(split) P O

In both sentences kumaliza kazi hii with the subject-prefix expounds S.

ilikuwa vigumu kuendesha baisikeli yangu kwenye mawe S(split) P A
it was difficult to ride my bicycle on the stones

Or, kulikuwa vigumu...

S is expounded by the stretch kuendesha...mawe.

5.23. VN as second sub-group. It has been stated that a VN in first sub-group connected by Ca to a nominal of any of the classes 1-11 (full nominal) expresses possessive relationship. This is established by the substitution of Pos for Ca. Even when second sub-group is inanimate Pos is substituted according to the general rule of using third person singular in relation to an inanimate, e.g.:

kupigwa kwake ngoma zile kuliniudhi masikio yangu S P(O) C
the beating of those drums offended my ears

Compare:

vitabu vilewekwa mahali pake S P A
the books were put in their place

watu walionyeshwa mahali pao S P C
the people were shown their place

With second sub-group of a Ca construction a verbo-nominal, substitution of Pos for Ca is not possible. If Pos is employed, it is inserted as an extra word, e.g.:

mkono wake wa kulia
his right hand, i.e. his hand for eating

nguo zao za kulalia
their pajamas, i.e. their clothes for sleeping

This is sufficient indication that the function of Ca in this type of construction is something other than to join two sub-groups in possessive relationship. In relation to full nominals of Cl. 1-11 of first sub-group, verbo-nominals of second sub-group generally express a qualificative relationship with verbal semantic reference.

The VN in second sub-group operates more freely as a verb than does the VN in first sub-group. The hybrid character of VN makes it necessary to refer to 'the subject' or 'the object' of the VN even when we are describing a nominal construction, i.e. the Ca construction. The subject or object relationships to verbo-nominals do not in this type of nominal construction constitute syntactic units. A Ca construction may expound S, O or A, but the nominal sub-groups, even when 'nominal' stands for a verbo-nominal, are constituents of the C*a* construction, not separate syntactic units.

chumba chetu cha kulalia watoto kilijengwa mwaka jana S P A
our childrens bedroom was built last year
Or, our room for the children to sleep in was built last year

mashine yetu ya kupondea karafuu iliundwa mwaka jana S P A
our clove-crushing machine was constructed last year
Or, our machine for crushing cloves was constructed last year

In these two Swahili sentences, which are formally identical, S is expounded by the stretch *chumba*...*watoto* and by the stretch *mashine*...*karafuu*. The relationship of *watoto* to *kulalia* is not the same as that of *karafuu* to *kupondea*. Whereas the position of *karafuu* is fixed, the position of *watoto* is not, e.g.:

chumba chetu cha watoto kulalia kilijengwa mwaka jana S P A
our childrens bedroom was built last year

The verbo-nominal has a subjectival adjunct, viz. *watoto*. Compare:

chumba walicholalia watoto
the room in which the children slept

Here *walicholalia watoto* is an additioning clause.

In the corresponding sentence *karafuu* is the object of *kupondea* and could be represented in the verbo-nominal by an object infix. To describe -*lalia* as relating to an intransitive verb and -*pondea* to a transitive verb is misleading, because in a different grammatical context -*lalia* may have its own grammatical object, e.g.:

nia yake ya kumlalia yule mwenye eda ilijulikana S P
his intention of sleeping with that woman in seclusion
(mourning) was known

This illustrates the importance of the actual grammatical construction employed. The capacity of the VN in second sub-group to take an object indicates verbal behavior, and correspondences of shape in the VN are with the shape of the stem in corresponding verbal constructions.

For convenience, most grammars indicate that the shape of the VN is at least partly dependent upon the type of nominal occurring in first sub-group. For example, if the nominal in first sub-group expresses the instrument or means whereby the action of the VN is performed, then the VN has the Applicative extension. Or, if first sub-group expresses an animate, then the VN has no extension to the radical. Or again if the VN expresses the purpose of the nominal in first sub-group, the Applicative extension is employed.

These are subjective criteria, useful perhaps as a general guide for the learner, but the primary reference should be to corresponding verb-forms. The Applicative extension has other uses than to express instrumental action or purpose, and it is important to note that any of its uses may occur in verbo-nominal of second sub-group. Previous grammars have tended to emphasize the use of the Applicative extension in this type of construction to the exclusion of other extensions and their various combinations. The whole range of verbal extensions is represented in verbo-nominal of second sub-group of the Ca construction.

Even so, this type of construction is qualificative, and in expounding S or O cannot be substituted by a verb, nor invariably by Rel. In expounding A(Adjunct) it can be substituted by a verbal construction, e.g.:

baada ya kurudi tulipata chakula — A P O
after returning we had food

Cf. tulipokwisha rudi tulipata chakula — P C-vn/P O
when we returned we had food

The complex semantic reference of radical extensions is reflected in Ca constructions with verbo-nominal in second subgroup, so that although the general meaning associated with a given extension or combination of extensions is accepted, particular meanings have to be interpreted from particular contexts. Statistically, it could probably be shown that Ca constructions of this type more commonly expound O than S. Omission of Ca in O, but not in S, results in a different construction, e.g.:

sufuria hili la kupikia nyama limechakaa — S P
this pot for cooking meat is worn out

Or, sufuria hili kupikia nyama limechakaa — S P

Here, in expounding S the position of kupikia nyama is fixed, and so Ca may be omitted. Compare:

nimenunua sufuria la kupikia nyama — P O
I have bought a pot for cooking meat

If Ca is omitted in this sentence with element of structure O, the position of kupikia nyama is not fixed and it is then a type of Adjunct substitutable by a conditioning clause as follows:

nimenunua sufuria kupikia nyama — P O A
Or, nimenunua sufuria nipike nyama
I have bought a pot for cooking meat

kupikia nyama nimenunua sufuria A P O
Or, ili nipike nyama..
for cooking meat, I have bought a pot

Alternatively, the extension -i- can be omitted in these last examples, indicating that in certain contexts a minimal verbo-nominal may express purpose. This alternative use occurs in Ca constructions but like other uses of extensions it is not generally applicable, e.g.:

gari la kuchukua magunia
Or, gari la kuchukulia magunia
a cart for carrying sacks

mashine ya kupiga taipu
Or, mashine ya kupigia taipu
typewriting machine

mlango wa kuingia afisini
Or, mlango wa kuingilia afisini
door for going into the office

In contrast, other contexts may show that the difference between the minimal and the extended form is semantically significant, e.g.:

nyimbo za kulaza hizi zinampendeza mtoto S P O
these lullabies please the child

nyimbo za kulazia hizi zinasisimua S P
these seductive songs excite the passions

But the semantic difference here is not to be attributed only to the distinction between the minimal and the extended form, since in other contexts, even with the different contextual meanings, the distinction may be irrelevant, e.g.:

nyimbo za kumlaza mtoto zilitoka katika chumba chake cha kulala S P A
Or, nyimbo za kumlazia mtoto...
songs to lull the child to sleep came from his bedroom

yule kisura aliimba nyimbo za kuwalaza wapiga mtindi S P O
Or, with kuwalazia
the girl sang songs to attract the drinkers, lit. to send them to sleep, but the meaning is quite the opposite, viz. to knock them out, excite them, bowl them over

Contextual reference is of primary importance in interpreting these forms and there is obvious danger of limiting their meaning if we abstract them and give them a particular meaning.

In the absence of a subjectival prefix or of a tense sign in the verbo-nominal, the abstracted Ca construction expresses neither the subject nor the time reference. For this reason, abstracted forms may not in every instance be valid forms. For example, the abstraction chakula cha kupika is not acceptable, but it may constitute part of a whole construction in context. Similarly, the abstraction chakula cha kupikwa may be accepted, but the meaning could be either 'cooked food' or 'food to be cooked' according to the context. Compare:

chakula cha kupika Juma kililetwa jikoni S P A
Or, chakula cha Juma kupika kililetwa jikoni S P A
food for Juma to cook was brought to the kitchen

Ca construction with fixed prefix ku- is not the qualificative of chakula, but is a type of Adjunct which can precede chakula or follow jikoni, e.g.:

kwa Juma kupika chakula kililetwa jikoni A S P A
for Juma to cook, food was brought to the kitchen

chakula cha kupikwa na Juma husifiwa sana S P A
food cooked by Juma is greatly praised

Rel may be substituted for the Ca construction in this sentence, viz:

chakula kilichopikwa na Juma husifiwa sana S P A
food cooked by Juma is greatly praised

chakula cha kupikwa na Juma kitapikwa kwetu S P A
food to be cooked by Juma will be cooked at our place

Rel substitute here has future tense, viz.:

chakula kitakachopikwa na Juma kitapikwa kwetu S P A
food that will be cooked by Juma will be cooked at our place

Compare again:

chakula cha kupikwa chanifaa S P(O)
cooked food is good for me

chakula cha kupikwa kilitafutwa kisipatikane S P/P
cooked food was sought and was not obtained
Or, food for cooking was sought and not obtained

The precise meaning of the last sentence is established by further contextual reference. The contextual reference is of fundamental importance in establishing the exact meaning of a Ca construction.

Pron may express the subjectival adjunct of the verbo-nominal, but its use is semantically determined, e.g.:

vyombo wya kupikia sisi viliwekwa tayari S P A
Or, vyombo vya sisi kupikia viliwekwa tayari S P A
utensils for us to cook with were put ready

kibanda cha kupikia wao kilijengwa mwituni S P A
Or, kibanda cha wao kupikia kilijengwa mwituni S P A
a hut for them to cook in was built in the forest

sababu za wao kupigana hazikujulikana S P
the reasons for them to fight were not known

But in this last example no reversal of wao to follow the verbo-nominal because the form with Pos is preferred, e.g.:

sababu za kupigana kwao hazikujulikana S P
the reasons for their fighting were not known

LsN's of first sub-group of a Ca construction with verbo-nominal in second sub-group need to be stabilized either by the related SsN or by Rel of the restricted verb -li, e.g.:

mtu huyu mwepesi wa kuelewa atanisaidia S P(O)
this person of quick intelligence will help me

Here mwepesi wa kuelewa, quick to understand, is in parenthesis, but without mtu huyu the sentence is unstable. The words in parenthesis correspond to an additioning clause with Rel of-li, e.g.:

mtu huyu aliye mwepesi wa kuelewa atanisaidia S P(O)
this person who is of quick intelligence will help me

In this sentence mtu huyu may be omitted and the resulting sentence is a stable utterance.

Corresponding sentences in which the SsN is a nominal of any of the classes 3-11 do not employ Ca, and the fact that the verbo-nominal may take an object infix in relation to the controlling SsN establishes that these are not Ca constructions, e.g.:

kazi hii nyepesi kuifanya itaendelea siku tatu S P A
Or, kazi hii nyepesi kufanyika itaendelea siku tatu S P A
this easily performed job will continue for three days

Once again nyepesi kuifanya or nyepesi kufanyika is in parenthesis and is substitute for an additioning clause with Rel, e.g.:

kazi hii ambacho ni nyepesi kuifanya...
this job which is done quickly...

Or, kazi hii iliyo nyepesi kufanyika...

But preferably:

kazi hii iliyofanyika upesi...
Or, kazi hii iliyofanyika kwa urahisi...
this quickly-or easily performed job...

It has to be remembered that we are dealing only with forms that expound S. In non-verbal sentences and in sentences stabilized with copula ni, Ca construction with first sub-group an LsN and second sub-group a verbo-nominal is of frequent occurrence, e.g.:

mtu huyu mzuri wa kuimba nyimbo
this person is wonderful at singing songs

yeye ni mzito wa kusema
he is slow to speak

In response/referential pattern, Dem may operate as first sub-group of a Ca construction with second sub-group a verbo-nominal, but rarely with reference to a nominal of Cl. 1/2, e.g.:

Q. Unataka kijiko kipi?
Which spoon do you want?

A. Kile cha kupakulia
That one for dishing up (food)

Pron may occur as first sub-group in this type of construction and Ca with verbo-nominal is then substitute for Rel, but this type of construction is limited to contexts in which the verbo-nominal does not take an object, e.g.:

wao wa kuchelewa hawakuruhusiwa darasani S P A
those who were late were not allowed into the class

More commonly:

wale waliochelewa hawakuruhusiwa darasani S P A

sisi wa kukataa tutakaa kando tukuwachilieni ninyi wa kukubali mwende mbele
we who refuse will stay aside so as to leave you who accept to carry on

Rel may occur as first sub-group in this type of construction, but only with restricted verbal -li and as referent to S in a verb in the subjunctive preceded by link Adjunct, e.g.:

aliye wa kuondoka naondoke (na aondoke)
who is for leaving, let him depart

asiye wa kutaka naende zake (na aende)
who does not want it, let him go his way

First sub-group of a Ca construction with second sub-group a verbo-nominal may be zero, but this type of Ca construction, although it may occur in expounding S, is much more common in expounding O, e.g.:

Expounding S:

la kusema limenishinda — S P
what to say beats me

la kufanyika limekwisha fanyika — S P C-vn
what can be done has been done

Expounding O:

sijui ya kuvaa — P O
I don't know what to wear

alitafuta pa kukaa — P O

5.24. Restricted Nominals Expounding S. A restricted nominal is an SsN that in normal usage has formal relationship by prefixal agreement only with words of a specific or limited range of word-categories. Another definition is: A restricted nominal is an SsN which in normal usage does not operate as referent or co-referent of a subject-prefix. It is necessary to refer to 'normal usage' because the only contexts in which certain restricted nominals expound S are those associated with the Swahili joking relationship called *utani*. For a speaker to use the same forms in normal personal relationships or in public is considered indecent.(1)

There are four restricted nominals capable of expounding S in the context of a joking relationship. These are mbele, chini, nyuma and ndani, and they relate usually to Pos. Restricted nominals govern agreement only of Pos and of the prefix in Ca of a Ca construction. In providing examples in which nominals of this type expound S, it must be emphasized that these examples do not occur outside the utani relationship or in polite society, nor can any one of these four nominals in isolation be translated as 'private parts', 'genitals', etc.:

mbele yako yaonekana S P
your private parts are showing (addressed to a male)

chini yako inaonekana S P
your private parts are showing (addressed to a female)

nyuma yake imeingiliwa na wanaume S P A
he has practiced homosexuality

ndani yake imeingiliwa na wanaume wengi S P A
she has had intercourse with many men

A mother would not use the first sentence to her child, for in normal contexts the nominal uchi, nakedness, is used, e.g.:

uchi wako unaonekana S P
your nakedness is showing

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(1) In Hansard, the official report of debates in the Bunge of Tanzania (Majadiliano ya Bunge, Okt. 12-Des. 22,1965, p. 71) the Speaker thought it necessary to admonish a member for using the word mbeleni, and said, Neno la 'mbeleni' halitumiki katika Bunge, the word mbeleni is not used in this Assembly. There are contexts in which mbeleni may be used without offence, and in the particular context the member's use was more a breach of grammatical usage than of etiquette, but the Speaker obviously thought it expedient to advise the member to avoid the word altogether.

Here uchi is a full nominal and so cannot expound Adjunct in this context, whereas the restricted nominals in the above contexts may do so, e.g.:

mbele yako unaonekana A P
you are visible in front

Restricted nominals in normal usage expound Adjunct. They are Cl. 9 nominals, but mbele also occurs as Cl. 10 nominal. Loogman states (op.cit. P. 280) that mbele in Cl. 10 occurs only in relation to a 'plural of animate beings', but this is not really so. The Cl. 9 form is more common, but if Cl. 10 is used there is no semantic difference, viz. mbele yetu or mbele zetu, before us, in front of us, mbele za wafalme or mbele ya wafalme, before or in the presence of kings. The restricted nominal ndani, inside, occurs in either Cl. 9 or Cl. 15, more frequently the former, and the same is true of kusini, south, and kaskazini, north. The latter are locative nominals, but are mentioned here since ndani is in the same category when it controls Cl. 15 agreement and may then expound S, e.g.:

ndani ya sanduku mliwekwa viatu
inside the box were placed shoes

Group ndani ya sanduku expounds Adjunct; subject-prefix could be any one of the three locative prefixes.

Compare:

ndani mwa sanduku mliwekwa viatu
inside the box were placed shoes

Group ndani mwa sanduku in which ndani is in Cl. 15 is co-referent of the subject-prefix and so expounds S. Subject-prefix is variable within the locative range, giving ndani mwa sanduku as then a referent and still the exponent of S.

kusini mwa Unguja kumejengwa msikiti mpya
in the soutn of Zanzibar island a new mosque has been built

Group kusini mwa Unguja is referent of the subject-prefix and expounds S. Compare:

kusini ya Unguja kumejengwa msikiti mpya
in the south of Zanzibar island a new mosque has been built

Group kusini ya Unguja, in which kusini does not control a locative prefix, is grammatically neither referent nor co-referent of the subject-prefix, and so expounds Adjunct.

In previous grammars first sub-group of a Ca construction expressing the equivalent of an English preposition, or even of an adverb, has been listed irrespective as to whether the nominal of first sub-group is a full nominal or a restricted nominal. For example, forms like upande wa... and ng'ambo ya... have been given the same classification as juu ya... or ndani ya.... The nominal in first sub-group of a Ca construction may be either full or restricted, but it is important to distinguish between them, because whereas the former may operate as co-referent of the subject-prefix, the latter, in normal usage may not. For example:

upande huu wa nyumba yangu umebomoka S P
this side of my house has fallen down

ng'ambo ile ya pili imeanza kumonyoka S P C-vn
that opposite bank (of river) has begun to erode

The nominals upande and ng'ambo are full nominals which in these typical contexts act as co-referent of the subject-prefix, i.e. they control the agreement in the verb. Note that they also relate to Dem. Restricted nominals do not relate to Dem nor to any LsN, but only to Pos and to Ca in a Ca construction, and in normal usage cannot operate as referent or co-referent of the subject-prefix, e.g.:

juu ya milima kulipiga theluji — A P C
on top of the mountains snow fell

kiti hiki nyuma yake kumevunjika — A P
Or, kiti hiki nyuma yake kimevunjika — S A P
the back of this chair is broken

Compare:

badala yangu alikuja — A P
my substitute came/he came instead of me

rafiki yangu alikuja — S P
my friend came

Badala is a restricted nominal and expounds Adjunct, because whereas the anomalous agreement with rafiki is an accepted type of control by animates, with a corresponding set of markers in the plural, badala is not the referent of the subject-prefix. If other sentences are generated from the above examples, it becomes clear that the second sentence is not the equivalent of the first, e.g.:

badala yangu walikuja wengine — A P S
instead of me others came

rafiki zangu wengine walikuja — S P
my other friends came

The nominal kando in Cl. 9 is a restricted nominal expounding A, and occurs also in reduplicated form, kandokando. In Cl. 10, however, kando is capable of expounding S. It occurs also as a locative nominal with agreement in Cl. 15, viz. kandoni, and the reduplicated form again is kandoni-kandoni.

kando ya bahari wanawake hutanda dagaa A P O
at the edge of the sea women fish for dagaa
(with a cloth) A S P O

The nominal kando seldom occurs with Pos, and then only in third person, e.g.:

baharini kwenye kando yake wanawake hutanda dagaa A P O
in the sea at its border women fish for dagaa

As a locative:

kandoni mwa mto kunaota miti S P C
on the side of the river trees are growing

As Cl. 10 nominal:

kando zote mbili za mto huu zinamomonyoka S P
both sides of this river are being eroded

katika kando za mto huu kumeoteshwa miti A P C
on the sides of this river trees are grown

kwenye kando za mto Rufiji kunalimwa mpunga S P C
on the sides of the river Rufiji rice is cultivated

kwenye mto Rufiji kando zake zinalimwa mpunga A S P C
on the Rufiji its sides are cultivated with rice

Even though kando in Cl. 10 can be co-referent of the subject-prefix, it does not relate so freely with words of other categories as does the full nominal ng'ambo, river-bank, side, e.g.

ng'ambo hii nzuri sana
this bank (of river) is very beautiful

kando hii pazuri sana
this side is very beautiful

In these non-verbal sentences nzuri agrees with ng'ambo, but similar agreement is not possible with kando.

The restricted nominals baada, after, baina, between, bila, without, kabla, before, kati, between, duni, less, katikati, between, in middle, nje, outside, and zaidi, more, expound Adjunct only.

It has been stated that in normal usage restricted nominals control only Pos and the prefix (C) of a Ca construction. The nominals asubuhi, morning, and jioni, evening, expound S only in relation to these categories, e.g.:

asubuhi yetu inaanza kwa sala — S P A
the morning (lit. our morning) begins with prayer

asubuhi ya leo imebashiri heri — S P C
this morning augurs well

Although forms with Dem do occur, viz. asubuhi hii, this morning, and jioni hii, this evening, preference is given to alternative constructions, e.g., leo asubuhi, this morning, siku ile asubuhi that morning.

asubuhi panaanzwa kwa sala — S P A
the morning begins with prayer

jioni yetu itaishia kwa densi ya kizungu — S P +A
the evening will finish with European dancing

jioni ya leo imepiga wekundu sana — S PP A
this is a golden evening (of the red sunset)

siku ile asubuhi ilipita upesi — S P A
Or, asubuhi ya siku ile ilipita upesi — S P A
that morning passed quickly

The word jioni in the modern context is used as the equivalent of 'evening', say from six P.M. to ten P.M., but strictly speaking it refers to nightfall cf. jio la usiku, nightfall. Another word for 'evening' is magharibi, and in the coastal context refers to the period of one hour and twenty minutes between sala ya magharibi (sunset-prayer) and sala ya isha (last prayer of the day). The word *magharibi* is used as co-referent of subject-prefix, e.g.:

magharibi imekwisha ingia S P C-vn
the evening has come (time for prayer)

magharibi haifai mtu kuimba S P A
it is not good for a person to sing in the evening hour
(referring to the time between *magharibi* and *isha*
which good Muslims are taught to use for meditation)

In the first of these examples *magharibi* expounds S, but in the second it expounds A since the referent of the subject-prefix is the clause *mtu kuimba*.

The word *pwani*, coast, which occurs also as *pwa* in Northern Swahili, is a full nominal, and so is *zamani* for *zama*, time, period, e.g.:

pwani hii imechafuliwa sana siku hizi S P A A
this coast has been dirtied a lot these days

zamani zile zimekwisha pita S P C-vn
those times are past

5.25. *Locative Words expounding S*. A locative word is any nominal (SsN, LsN, Pos, Dem) in which either by locative prefix or by the locative extra suffix -*ni* the general locative class is formally represented.

In previous grammars the word *mahali*, place, has been classified as the only word belonging to the locative class, but this is true only in the sense that it is the only word without formal locative elements which control agreements in locative classes. It is a general locative word and the only one of its kind, that is, allowing for its variants *pahali*, *pahala*, *kwahali*,*mwahali*, but this is not to say that there are no other locative words.

By 'general locative class' is meant the range of the three particular locative classes, Cl. 13 *ku-*, Cl. 14 *pa-*, and Cl. 15 *mu-*. In dialect, *mahali* may occur in relation to any one of these. In Standard Swahili the set of markers usually associated with *mahali* is that of Cl. 14, but in dialect the word itself occurs with the distinct prefixes of the particular locative classes, e.g., *kwahali*, *pahali*, *mwahali*. Even with the shape *mahali* agreements in Standard Swahili may be in any one of the locative classes. In Cl. 15, *mwahali* is plural, 'places'.

In accepting *mahali* as a general locative word, it must be emphasized that there is no exact correspondence of grammatical behavior between it and all other locative words in which some formal locative element is represented. For example, *mahali* may be qualified by LsN, viz. *mahali pengi*, many places, but no other locative word may be so qualified. Note the following:

mahali hapa pakubwa mmewekwa akiba kubwa ya nafaka
in this big place has been placed a big store of grain

The subject-prefix of Cl. 15, *m-* is associated with the meaning of 'in, inside', and can be substituted in this sentence by either of the other two locative prefixes with corresponding modification of meaning referring to the location of *mahali*, viz. with *ku-*, 'hereabouts', and with *pa-*, 'here, precise location'. Whichever subject-prefix is employed, the nominal group of which *mahali* is a constituent is classified as expounding S because although *mahali* itself has no formal locative element, it is accepted as a general locative word. If subject-prefix is in Cl. 14 *pa-*, the nominal group with their corresponding markers is classified as co-referent of the subject-prefix expounding S, but otherwise, within the locative range and with anomalous agreement with the subject-prefix, the nominal group is referent, still expounding S.

Any other locative nominal, e.g., *nyumbani*, is incapable of qualification by LsN, and so to express 'in this big house' a construction has to be employed with no locative elements, e.g.:

katika nyumba hii kubwa mmewekwa akiba kubwa ya nafaka
in this big house has been placed a big store of grain

The absence of locative elements in the group *katika nyumba hii kubwa* disqualifies the group from being referent of the subject-prefix, and so the group is classified as expounding Adjunct.

Locative words expound S in those contexts in which they operate as referent or co-referent of the subject-prefix.

A single locative word may be classified as referent of the subject-prefix, since it may be capable of controlling any one of the three locative prefixes even though there is no element in the locative word itself to identify it with a particular locative class, e.g.:

afisini kulifanyika kazi nyingi leo S P C A
Or, *afisini palifanyika kazi nyingi leo* S P C A
at the office there was much work done today

afisini mlifanyika kazi nyingi leo S P C A
in the office there was much work done today

The word *afisini* is termed a locative word not only because of the occurrence of the locative extra-suffix -*ni*, but because in other contexts it may control locative prefixes within its own nominal group, e.g.:

afisini mwetu mlifanyika kazi nyingi leo — S P C A
in our office there was much work done today

The few words with extra-suffix -ni which do not in certain contexts control locative prefixes within their own nominal group are not, by our definition, locative words, e.g., pwani, coast, jioni, evening, zamani, long ago. It has already been indicated that pwani and jioni are Cl. 9 nominals, and zamani is a Cl. 10 nominal. Note the following example:

pwani kumepiga mvua nyingi — A P C
on the coast there has been a lot of rain

Although in this context it is possible to classify pwani as a locative word expounding S, it is not comparable to afisini in the previous examples because it does not operate as controlling locative with other words in its own group. The corresponding form of afisini mwetu is pwani yetu, and so:

pwani yetu kumepiga mvua nyingi — A P C
on our coast there has been much rain

Here pwani yetu expounds A. Compare:

kule pwani kumepiga mvua nyingi — S P C
there on the coast much rain has fallen

Once again although it would appear legitimate to classify the group kule pwani as a locative group expounding S, it is not comparable, say, with a group like kule sokoni, because extension of sokoni, is in a locative class, whereas extension of pwani is in Cl. 9, e.g.:

kule sokoni mwetu kumepunguzwa bei ya kila kitu S P C
there in our market the price of everything has come down

kule pwani ya Tanga kunalimwa katani S P C
there on the Tanga coast sisal is cultivated

It may be appropriate even of accepted locative words to regard them in relation to kule as being in opposition rather than being controlling words. For example, in kule sokoni mwetu it cannot be said that sokoni mwetu is controlling kule, but rather the reverse. Whether this is accepted or not, it remains true that sokoni mwetu cannot in this position be substituted by a non-locative group or word. For this reason, in kule pwani the word pwani must be given the status of a locative word. Similarly, when pwani is the only word of its group, the test of substitution may establish that in such a context it is a locative word, e.g.:

pwani kumepiga mvua nyingi S P C
on the coast it has rained a lot

Substitution of a non-locative word for pwani is not possible in this context, and this establishes pwani as a locative word in this context. With Dem the word pwani operates as a non-locative expounding A, e.g.:

pwani hii kumepiga mvua nyingi A P C
on this coast it has rained a lot

nchi hii kumepiga mvua nyingi A P C
in this country it has rained a lot

Either group in another context can expound S, e.g.:

pwani hii imekaliwa na watu wengi wa bara S P A
this coast is inhabited by many people from up-country

nchi hii inazidi kuendelea S P C-vn
this country continues to progress

5.26. Locative SsN - Dem. With mahali, Dem invariably follows the nominal, e.g.:

mahali hapa pamejulikana na mapolisi S P A
this place is known to the police

mahali pale pamejengwa msikiti S P C
at that place a mosque has been built

mahali hapo patakumbukwa daima S P A
that (referred to) place will be remembered forever

Strictly speaking, the word mahali is redundant in each of these examples, since the location of place is sufficiently indicated by Dem. The semantic content of mahali is equal to that of Dem, but with other locative words their semantic content defines that of Dem. To abstract hapa as meaning 'here' is to abstract a meaning with no particular reference. A locative SsN provides the particular reference of locative Dem, e.g. hapa duniani, here on earth; hapa chumbani, here in the room. The semantic reference of hapa in these groups is not the same.

Conversely, with any given locative word, Dem provides the particular locative reference of that word. For instance, hapa sokoni, here at the market; pale sokoni, there at the market; mle sokoni, there in the market. There are nine possible variant locative Dems that can provide the particular reference for a locative word.

The dual function of these locative words, viz. with the SsN giving the particular locative reference of Dem, and Dem giving

giving the particular locative reference of an SsN, is further indication that the words are in apposition. Both SsN and Dem in a locative group are locative words, and so are not comparable with words in a non-locative group, e.g. watu wale, in which watu is of a different category from wale. Although in a locative group we distinguish between SsN and Dem, they belong to the same category of locative words.

With Dem of the type hapa, the locative SsN normally takes first position, but Dem may be emphasized by reversing the order, e.g.:

nyumbani hapa patasomwa maulid S P C
the maulid (religious verse) will be read at home here

hapa nyumbani patasomwa maulid S P C
here, at home, the maulid will be read

nchini humu mmeingia fitina nyingi S P C
much intrigue is to be found in this country (lit. has entered)

humu nchini mmeingia fitina nyingi S P C
here inside this country much intrigue is to be found

Emphatic Dems normally precede the locative SsN, e.g.:

tutasoma maulid papa hapa nyumbani P O A
we will read the maulid right here at home

Dems of the types pale and hapo both occur in referential/response patterns and then precede the locative SsN. Following the locative SsN, Dem is normally an indicator. This corresponds to behavior of Dem in other classes. For example:

...basi, kule sokoni kulifanyika biashara mchana kutwa.. (referential) S P C A
Or, ...kwa hiyo, huko sokoni kulifanyika biashara mchana kutwa.. A S P C A
...and so there at the market trade was prosecuted all day..

In the printed word and in narration, with displacement of locative reference, these Dems may follow the locative SsN with referential meaning, but in speech when the spoken word can be accompanied by physical acts like pointing, Dem after the locative SsN is an indicator, e.g.:

baharini kule kumeonekana meli, unaona, kule (indicating) S P C'P'A
there out at sea a ship is visible, do you see it? there!

...kwa hiyo mjini huko hakukupatikana maji kwa siku tatu (referential) A S P C A
...and so there at the village water was unobtainable for three days

As an indicator, the normal position of Dem is after the locative SsN, but for emphasis on Dem, as with the type hapa, the word order may be reversed, e.g.:

kule kilimani kunapiga mvua, lakini hapa hakuna mvua S P C'- -
there on the hill it is raining, but here there is no rain

tazama, huko barabarani kunapita askari - 'S P C
look, there on the main road soldiers are passing

There is considerable difference of stress distinguishing the referential from the indication pattern.

5.27. Locative SsN-Pos. Pos normally follows locative SsN, e.g.:

mjini kwetu patajengwa shule mpya S P C
at our village a new school will be built

shambani mwake kumeota magugu mengi S P C
in his plot/field many weeds have sprung up

kichwani pangu paliwekwa kofia S P C
on my head a hat was placed

Locative prefix of Cl. 13 includes within its wider range of meaning the particular location expressed by either Cl. 14

or Cl. 15 prefix, and it can be said that the Cl. 14 prefix may include within its own reference the particular location expressed by that of Cl. 15. There is a diminishing reference of location indicated also by the capacity for a locative Pos to be its own referent. In Cl. 13, forms like kwetu, kwao, are stable forms in their own right, but forms in Cl. 15 like mwetu,mwao are not, for they need some locative word to make them meaningful. In the latter case the relevant locative SsN precedes Pos and reversal is not possible, e.g.:

mikononi mwangu mliwekwa maua mazuri — S P C
in my hands were placed lovely flowers

mjini mwenu kutajengwa shule mpya — S P C
in your village a new school will be built

Whereas reversal of the word order in the locative group is not permissible in these examples, reversal occurs with Pos in Cl. 13 and less frequently with Pos in Cl. 14, e.g.:

kwetu mjini kutajengwa shule mpya — S P C
at our village a new school will be built

petu mjini patajengwa shule mpya — S P C
here at our village a new school will be built

Dem may precede locative SsN - Pos, as follows:

humu kichwani mwangu mnaniuma — S P C
here in my head it is hurting me

kule shambani mwake kumeota magugu — S P C
there in his field weeds have sprung up

Locative SsN - -ote

The forms kote, pote and mote (also mwote) occur in locative groups, but most frequently in expounding A, e.g.:

nimesafiri duniani kote P A
I have travelled all over the world

But Cf.

mahali pote pamejaa moshi S P C
the whole place is full of smoke

pote nyumbani palisikiwa harufu ya manukato S P C
all over the house was the smell of perfume

mote mwilini mnaniuma S P(O)
the whole of the inside of my body hurts

With mahali locative -ote is in postposition, but with locative SsN the order is not fixed, e.g.:

mwilini mote mnaniuma S P(O)
the whole of the inside of my body hurts

Locative Pos is excluded from this type of sentence because no possessive alternance is possible, but in other contexts it may occur, e.g.:

shambani mwangu mote halikuonekana gugu hata moja A P S A
in the whole of my field not a single weed was to be seen

Here the locative group expounds A, cf.:

shambani mwangu mote hapakuonekana gugu hata moja S P C A

With the same meaning, the locative group expounds S.

So long as the locative group retains this word order, substitution of another locative prefix with -ote is not permissible, but -ote in first position may take either Cl. 13 or Cl. 14 locative prefix, e.g.:

kote shambani mwangu...
everywhere in my field

Or, pote shambani mwangu...

5.28. *Locative SsN -o- -ote*. In relation to *mahali* the locative form of *-o-ote* invariably follows the nominal, but the nominal is redundant and so is frequently omitted. This type of locative group seldom expounds S, but frequently does so when relating to an additioning clause with Rel. Examples:

popote patanifaa S P(O)
anywhere will suit me

mahali popote panapochezwa ngoma hufikiwa na watazamaji wengi S P A
any place where there is a dance attracts many spectators

Here the stretch *mahali...ngoma* expounds S being referent to the invariable subject-prefix *hu-* which may not occur without a referent.

kokote uendako kutakuletea faida S P(+O) C
wherever you go it (the place) will benefit you

popote ukaapo nitakufikia S P(+O)
wherever you live I will come to you

The nominal *mahali* is preceded by the invariable word *kila*, every, to express 'every place' and when relating to Rel the word *mahali* is then usually omitted, e.g.:

kila mahali patajulikana S P
every place will be known

kila niendako pamejulikana na polisi S P A
everywhere I go is known to the police

kila palipo na maji panapatikana mavuno S P C
everywhere where there is water there are crops

Here the stretches *kila niendako* and *kila palipo na maji* expound S and have locative reference. Groups of the same shape occur with reference to a temporal nominal, and expound A, e.g.:

kila nisemapo ananikataza nisiseme A P(O) 'P
every time I speak he forbids me to speak

The group kila nisemapo refers to wakati time, period, viz. kila wakati nisemapo.

In relation to a locative SsN, locative -o-ote normally precedes the SsN, e.g.:

popote uwanjani pataniwezesha kuona mchezo wa mpira S P(O) C-vn(O)
anywhere in the stadium (field) will enable me to see the
football match

This group has a rather limited use in expounding S because locative -o-ote in first position usually introduces an additioning clause or other locative words, e.g.:

popote ukutani pasipotiwa rangi patatiwa rangi kesho S P C A
any part of the wall not painted will be painted tomorrow

popote barabarani penye mashimo patatengenezwa upya S PP
anywhere on the road where there are holes will be repaired

kokote duniani ambako kuna vita kunafikiwa na watu
wa chama cha Msalaba Mwekundu S P A
anywhere in the world where there is war is visited by
members of the Red Cross

popote palipo na rotuba patafaa kupanda mtama S P C-vn (O)
anywhere that is fertile will do for planting millet

Locative word - -enyewe

Pron -enyewe follows mahali or a locative SsN, e.g.:

mahali penyewe hapakaliwi na watu S P A
the place itself is not inhabited

mjini kwenyewe kulipigwa vita S P C
at the village itself there was fighting

nyumbani mwenyewe hamkusikiwa sauti yoyote S P C
in the house itself not a sound was heard

5.29. Locative SsN - -enye compound. It has already been noted that the -enye compound is substitute for a construction with restricted verb -li, e.g.:

mahali penye maji safi panafaa kuchimba kisima S P A
Or, mahali palipo na maji safi...
Or, mahali panapo maji safi...

In the last example, restricted verb -li is zero, and this occurs as an alternative only in locative construction. The resulting clause is non-verbal. In some up-country districts of Kenya, speakers of Swahili as a second language extend this usage to Classes 1/2, e.g. anaye for aliye, he who has; wanao for walio na, they who have. Such forms are acceptable, but not much in use by speakers for whom Swahili is a first language.

If mahali or locative SsN is employed, the -enye compound normally is in postposition. The word mahali is redundant and so can be omitted. With locative SsN the prefix of -enye may be any one of the three locative prefixes, but Cl. 15 prefix is seldom employed, preference being given to forms with katika, in, or to Cl. 13 prefix with -enye, e.g.:

baharini kwenye maji makuu kunavuliwa samaki wakubwa sana S P C
at sea where the water is deep very big fish are caught

nyumbani penye mlango wa mbele palisimama askari S P C
at the house a soldier stood at the front door

chumbani kwenye redio mlisikika vipindi toka nchi za kigeni S P C A
in the room with a radio programs from foreign countries were heard

But for the last example preferably:

katika chumba chenye radio...
in the room having a radio...

An alternative construction employs the SsN as a non-locative extension of the -enye compound, e.g.:

kwenye maji makuu ya bahari kunavuliwa samaki wakubwa sana S P C
at the deep waters of the sea very big fish are caught

penye mlango wa mbele wa nyumba palisimama askari S P C
at the front door of the house stood a soldier

This type of construction does not occur with prefix of -enye in Cl. 15.

A locative -enye compound may relate to the second element of a preceding -enye compound, e.g.:

wenye makanisa penye shule zao wataendelea kufundisha S P C-vn
those with churches where their schools are will continue to teach

Here the group penye shule zao relates to makanisa, and the stretch wenye...zao expounds S.

5.30. Multiple nominals as S. Nominal groups linked by the connective na, or listed without a connective, expound Subject. When the nominals are of different classes, rules are sought for the appropriate subject-prefix. The rules are not absolutely rigid, perhaps because first speakers of Swahili prefer to avoid the use of multiple nominals in S in pre-verbal position. It is not considered good style, but the influence of English in the written word results in an increasing use of multiple nominals in S.

Animates whether singular or plural are referent to subject-prefix of Cl. 2. If the nominals are of different persons, the subject-prefix is plural first person or second person according to whether one of the nominals is of that person: first person takes precedence over second, and second person over third, e.g.:

mimi na baba yangu tumekubali S P
my father and I have agreed

wewe na mkeo mmekubali S P
you and your wife have agreed

Hamisi na mkewe wamekubali S P
Hamisi and his wife have agreed

Inanimates have variant behavior with respect to the subject-prefix, but a general rule is that concrete 'things' are referent to subject-prefix of Cl. 8, and abstract 'things' are referent to subject-prefix of either Cl. 10 or Cl. 6. The general rule is modified by the tendency for the last nominal, i.e., the nearest to the verb in pre-verbal position, to be co-referent of the subject-prefix, especially if the nominal has related long-series words. When only two nominals occur in the singular the subject-prefix occurs as Cl. 9, e.g.:

mkate na siagi imekwisha S P
the bread and the butter are finished

siagi na mkate imekwisha S P
the butter and the bread are sinished

But preferably:

mkate umekwisha na siagi pia S P/S
the bread is finished and the butter as well

siagi imekwisha na mkate pia S P/S
the butter is finished and the bread as well

meza mbili na kiti kimoja vimevunjika S P
two tables and one chair are broken

meza na kiti imevunjika S P
a table and a chair are broken

kiti na meza imevunjika S P
a chair and a table are broken

cheo na sifa na mapendezi ya dunia yamenidanganya maisha S P(O) C
rank and praise and the pleasures of the world have deceived me

Or

cheo na sifa na mapendezi ya hizi zimenidanganya maisha S/S P(O) C
rank and praise and the pleasures of the world, these have deceived me

Note again with Cl. 8 relating to singular nominals:

jembe na kisu na kofia vimepotea S P
a hoe and a knife and a cap are lost

These nominals can be interchanged, but the agreement is the same. If the last one is plural, agreement is with the plural nominal:

jembe na kisu na kofia mbili zimepotea S P
a hoe and a knife and two caps are lost

kisu na kofia na majembe yamepotea S P
a knife and a cap and hoes are lost

kofia na jembe na visu vimepotea S P
a cap and a hoe and knives are lost

These three subject-prefixes zi- Cl. 10, ya- Cl. 6, and vi- Cl. 8 are not each alternates for the other two, but vi- can be substituted for zi- and ya- in these sentences because the nominals express "things". Once again preferred sentences would be like the following:

kofia mbili zimepotea, pamoja na jembe na kisu pia S P/S
two caps are lost, together with a hoe and a knife as well

Whichever structure occurs, there are three sentences in the underlying structure.

With abstracts, even when they are all singular, the tendency is for agreement of the subject-prefix to be with the last, i.e., the nearest to the verb, e.g.:

kiburi na ujeuri na husuda imezidi kwao S P A
pride and violence and envy has increased among them

husuda na kiburi na ujeuri umezidi kwao S P A
envy and pride and violence has increased among them

ujeuri na husuda na kiburi kimezidi kwao S P A
violence and envy and pride has increased among them

Alternately these sentences are acceptable and subject-prefix ya- of Cl. 6, but in any case the preferred sentences are as follows:

kiburi kimezidi kwao, pamoja na ujeuri na husuda nayo S P A/S
pride has increased among them, together with
violence and envy as well

The extra subjects occurring after the verb and introduced either by na or by pamoja na are S of an underlying sentence, and not Adjunct.

Chapter Six

Adjuncts

6.00. The term Adjunct (A) is employed to denote a syntactic unit which has no affixal association with any other syntactic unit of a sentence. Since a Complement (C) also has no affixal association with any other syntactic unit, A is distinguished from C because C is most frequently a secondary object, and where it is not its position is fixed post-verbally. Adjunct in matrix sentences has free position, pre-verbal or post-verbal, except for a few invariables like sana, tu, which follow the group to which they refer.

6.01. The term Adjunct (A) with a capital letter applies to an ad-verbal nominal group with what is usually called adverbial function, i.e., as verbal modifier or intensifier. Only link Adjuncts relate structurally to a verb expounding P. Adjunct as modifier or intensifier is an optional syntactic unit, not integral to the structure of the sentence. Link Adjuncts are also optional, but where they occur they relate to the sentence structure, e.g.:

(1) Juma na mkewe wanapendana — S P
Juma and his wife love one another

(2) Juma anapendana na mkewe — S P A
Juma and his wife love one another

In (2) the link Adjunct na mkewe is essential to the sentence structure, for Juma anapendana is not a valid sentence. In sentences in which the verb has radical extension -an-, the occurrence of link Adjunct is not optional, but in other sentences, as after a passive, it is, e.g.:

Juma alidharauliwa na mwalimu wake S P A
Juma was slighted by his teacher

Juma alidharauliwa S P
Juma was slighted (scorned, despised, etc.)

6.02. An ad-verbal Adjunct (A) is a syntactic unit, but an ad-nominal adjunct shares the syntactic group of the nominal to which it relates, e.g.:

(1) tuliula wali kwa mchuzi P O
we ate the rice with gravy

(2) tuliula wali kwa pupa P O A
we ate the rice greedily

Both kwa mchuzi and kwa pupa are Ca constructions with fixed prefix, but they have different functions. In (1) kwa mchuzi is an ad-nominal adjunct with fixed position and by relating to wali, the Object, it forms part of the syntactic unit O. In (2) kwa pupa is an ad-verbal Adjunct, can occur pre-verbally, and expounds the syntactic unit Adjunct.

6.03. An ad-nominal adjunct forms a group in parenthesis which forms part of the whole group expounding S or O, e.g.:

watu wengi wakubwa kwa wadogo walihudhuria S P
many people, big and small, were present

Here the group in parenthesis is wakubwa kwa wadogo, and there is a slight pause before and after the group. This ad-nominal group shares the function of watu wengi as S.

Again:

alisema maneno yale kwa yale P O
he said those same words repeatedly

Cf. alisema maneno yale yale P O
he said those very words

alikula chakula hiki kwa hiki P O
he ate this same food repeatedly

Cf. alikula chakula hiki hiki P O
he ate this same food

The affixal agreement between the nominal expounding O and the Dems in the ad-nominal group indicates the group status as O. Compare:

alikula chakula mara kwa mara P O A
he ate food from time to time

Here there is no affixal agreement between chakula and the group mara kwa mara expounding A. Adjunct (A) can precede the verb, but the ad-nominal groups in the previous sentences cannot.

6.04. Ad-nominal adjuncts occur of the same shape as ad-verbal Adjuncts (A), but the difference of function is important, e.g.:

(1) alivaa kofia yake hivi P O A
he wore his hat this way

(2) alitumia shilingi tatu hivi P O
he used or spent about three shillings

In (1) hivi can occur between P and the group kofia yake expounding O, and is ad-verbal, but in (2) hivi has fixed position, relates to O and shares group status with it.

Again:

alipiga ngoma kama hivi P O A or PP A
he beat a drum like this/this way

Or, he drummed like this

alipiga ngoma kama hii P O
he beat a drum like this one

6.05. The word kama occurs to introduce an ad-nominal clause with its own syntactic units, and the clause shares the group status of the nominal to which it refers, e.g.:

mambo kama yale yaliyotendeka jana yamekatazwa kabisa S P A
behavior like that of yesterday is absolutely forbidden

Or, things like those that were done yesterday are forbidden absolutely

wamekataza mambo kama yale yaliyotendeka jana P O
they have forbidden behavior like that of yesterday

In each sentence the stretch kama...jana is an ad-nominal clause which shares the function of mambo as S or O.

6.06. Ad-nominal adjuncts occur to express percentages or measures of the referent of the subject-prefix, e.g.:

wanafunzi mia kwa themanini walihudhuria S P
eighty percent of the students attended

Here the ad-nominal adjunct relates to the SsN wanafunzi. Sentences occur with SsN zero in which the adjunct itself functions as S, e.g.:

mia kwa themanini walihudhuria S P
eighty percent attended

When the adjunct occurs as first sub-group of a Ca construction it is a partitive nominal group, i.e., semantically sub-group 1 is a part of sub-group 2. Grammatical agreement with the subject-prefix is then of sub-group 2, e.g.:

mia kwa themanini za bidhaa hizi zimetoka Amerika S P A
eighty percent of these pieces of merchandise come from America

kwa
mia/Ishirini wa watoto hawa watatoka shuleni
mwaka huu S P A A
twenty percent of these children will leave school
this year

The partitive character is established by the occurrence of the partitive nominal as sub-group 1 of a Ca construction and this is important for distinguishing ad-nominal adjunct from A in certain sentences. To make this clear sentences are illustrated with ad-nominal adjuncts of the same shape as a locative group. Compare:

(1) mmoja wa wanafunzi wa shule hii hakushinda
mtihani S PP
one of the students of this school did not pass
the examination

(2) miongoni mwa wanafunzi wa shule hii mmoja
hakushinda mtihani S PP
Or, katika wanafunzi wa shule hii mmoja hakushinda
mtihani S PP
amongst the students of this school one did not
pass the examination

The group mmoja, alternatively mmoja wao, in (2) is interchangeable with the preceding stretch, the ad-nominal adjunct, and the stretches miongoni...mmoja and katika...mmoja each expound S. The ad-nominal adjuncts can follow PP in these sentences. The important factor is that mmoja in (2) corresponds to sub-group 1 of the Ca construction in sentence (1). Only a partitive nominal provides sentences with these syntactic patterns. Other sentences occur based on Ca construction in S and in which Ca can be omitted, leaving sub-group 2 as ad-nominal adjunct, e.g.:

maziwa haya (ya) kadiri ya galoni nne yamekwisha ganda S P C-vn
this milk, four gallons, has gone sour

mtama huu (wa) kiasi cha pishi tatu utapelekwa ghalani S P A
this millet measuring 3 pishi (18 lbs.) will be sent
to the storehouse

Cf. kiasi cha pishi tatu cha mtama huu utapelekwa ghalani S P A
three pishi (18 lbs.) of this millet will be sent to
the storehouse, i.e., not all of it, but only 18 lbs.

Note that the subject-prefix has mtama huu as its referent because it relates in the Ca construction, in the last sentence, to a partitive sub-group, either kiasi or pishi tatu.

The items of a Ca construction which includes a partitive nominal can be interchanged or stated in a different order, and this does not affect their syntactic status. A partitive nominal is identifiable only by its distinctive behaviour in Ca constructions. A combination such as mtama huu wa shamba la babangu this millet from my father's field, does not have interchangeable items, but where items are interchangeable they prove to have different structures. e.g.:

mtama huu wa kutoka shamba la babangu utauzwa kesho S P A
this millet from my father's field will be sold tomorrow

kutoka shamba la babangu mtama huu utauzwa kesho A S P A
from my father's field this millet will be sold tomorrow,
i.e., it will be sold from the field, but may not
have been grown there

Since any Ca construction with a free prefix, i.e., with an antecedent, is in any case a type of ad-nominal adjunct, the variations of use with respect to items in this type of construction is only to be expected, but they have not previously been observed.

6.07. Ad-verbal adjuncts, i.e., Adjunct (A), are classified in the grammars as adverbials of three main categories, Time, Place and Manner. These are semantic categories which can be referred to for convenience, but which do not reflect distinctive grammatical features. A different classification is adopted here according to the shape of Adjuncts.

6.08. By definition an Adjunct (A) has no affixal association with another syntactic unit in a sentence, so that in this sense all Adjuncts which are nominals are restricted nominals, but not all nominals functioning as A are limited to their occurrence with this function, e.g.:

alikuja usiku P A
he came by night

usiku umepita S P
night is past

Cf. *alikuja leo* P A
he came today

The nominal *leo* does not expound S in S P. A distinction is made, therefore, between the full nominal *usiku* and the restricted nominal *leo* even when we are considering Adjuncts, for within a group expounding A the relationship of *usiku* to other word-classes is not the same as that of *leo*, e.g., *usiku huu* this night, but not *leo hii*.

Not all full nominals have identical behavior when functioning as A. Some, like *usiku*, occur either with or without other related words in the group, and others occur only with other words, e.g.:

alikuja mwaka huu P A
he came this year

alifika jana P A
he came yesterday

The nominal *mwaka* does not expound A without a supporting word, but *jana* can do so.

The general distinction between full and restricted nominals is a useful one, and a test for establishing the occurrence of a full nominal is if it can be preceded by the invariable word *kila* every, e.g., *kila mwaka* every year, but not *kila jana*. There are occasional anomalies, but latent elements reveal the deep structure, e.g., *upesi* behaves as full nominal in expounding S, yet as A *upesi* cannot be preceded by *kila* nor does it relate to other words in its own group, like Pos or Dem. The reason is that as A the full form of the Adjunct is *kwa upesi*. Compare:

alikimbia usiku P A
he ran away at night

alikimbia upesi P A
Or, *alikimbia kwa upesi* P A
he ran away quickly

Nominal *upesi* differs from *usiku* in A by relating to a *Ca* construction.

6.09. The constituents of Adjunct can be grouped as follows:

(1) Full nominals
(2) Restricted nominals
(3) Demonstratives
(4) *Ca* construct with fixed prefix
(5) Locatives
(6) Invariables

(1) Full nominals

6.10. Full nominals occur with all classes of long series words to expound A. The majority of full nominals expounding A do so only with at least one supporting word, e.g.:

tulihama mwaka huu we moved (house) this year	P A
tulihama mwaka wangu wa kwanza katika majeshi we moved during my first year in the Army	P A
tulihama mwaka wa kwanza wa vita we moved the first year of the war	P A
tulihama mwaka mmoja baada ya vita we moved one year after the war	P A
tulikaa mwaka mzima Nairobi we lived a whole year in Nairobi	P A A
tunahama kila mwaka we move every year	P A
tulihama mwaka uliopita we moved last year	P A

Note that katika majeshi and baada ya vita in other sentences can expound A, but in the above sentences they have fixed position in relation to mwaka wangu wa kwanza and mwaka mmoja, respectively. This establishes the unity of the whole stretch as a single Adjunct. In comparison, the position of Nairobi is not fixed, it can precede or follow immediately the verb, and so is classified as a separate Adjunct. In the last example Rel is substitute for LsN and forms a unit with its antecedent mwaka. Rel in an additioning clause is an expansion of a nominal, and if the nominal expounds A the additioning clause shares the function and status of the nominal as A, e.g.:

mwaka nilionunua nyumba ile kubwa karibu na soko
nilifiwa na baba A P A
the year I bought that big house near the market I
lost my father

The stretch *nilionunua*...*soko* is an additioning clause expanding mwaka, and the clause has its own syntactic units. The whole stretch *mwaka*...*soko* expounds A.

siku ile niliyokwenda kwa mjomba sikumkuta A P(O)
that day I went to my uncle's I didn't meet him

6.11. Adjuncts of this type with an additioning clause also relate to an emphatic copulative construction with Rel, e.g.:

mwaka niliofanya (h)arusi, ndipo nilipostarehe
the year I got married, that was when I settled down

Sentences of this type belong to the frame of nonverbal sentences, for Rel is substitute nominal. Compare:

yule afanyaye mema bila malipo, ndiye mtu mwema
the one who does good things without payment, that
is the good man

6.12. Sentences occur in which the status of the nominal group as A can be established only by reference to deep structure, e.g.:

aliingia nyumba P A
Or, *aliingia katika nyumba* P A
he entered the house

Compare:

alikwenda shamba
he went to a field

Although a sort of unitary meaning can be given to this sentence, viz. he went gardening, this is not PP, for if it were, then no item could be interpolated and the nominal group could not be expanded, but note:

alikwenda sasa hivi shamba P A A
he went this very moment to a field

alikwenda shamba la Ndonge P A
he went to the Ndonge field

To give specifity to the location where it is needed, the locative suffix -ni or some other group with locative meaning is employed. e.g.:

alikwenda shambani P A
he went to the field (specific)

alikwenda katika kibanda P A
he went into a hut

Again:

wanakaa nyumba moja P A
they are living in the same house

There is no optional use of an object-infix in this sentence, and so nyumba moja is classified as A. Compare:

walikaa nyumba ile mpya P O
Or, waliikaa nyumba ile mpya P O
they lived in that new house

Optional use of object-infix, and so the sentence without the infix is also classified as P O. Reference to the optional use of object-infix is a good test for distinguishing between P O and P A. In the following sentences there is no such option:

amesoma shule nyingi P A
he has studied in many schools

tuliugua wakati mmoja P A
we were ill at the same time

amekataa mara nyingi P A
he has refused many times

6.13. In compounds functioning as A the distinction between full and restricted nominals is irrelevant, because they do not relate to other words in their own group. Some forms are reduplicated stems, e.g., *polepole* slowly, gently, *mojamoja* one by one, *juzijuzi* the other day, *sawasawa* properly; others are alternates for the subgroups of Ca construct with Ca omitted, e.g., *bila shaka* or *bila ya shaka* without doubt, *mwaka jana* or *mwaka wa jana* last year, *asubuhi leo* or *asubuhi ya leo* this morning. Note also *kesho kutwa* the day after tomorrow, *mchana kutwa* all day, *usiku kucha* all night. All of these are true compounds, but adjacent Adjuncts occur which are not compounds but which need not have separate classification, e.g.:

alikuja leo asubuhi P A
he came today in the morning

alikuja jana jioni P A
he came yesterday evening

Here *asubuhi* and *jioni* are adnominal adjuncts which share the status of the nominal to which they refer. Compare:

jana alikuja jioni A P A
yesterday he came in the evening

Note that the compound *asubuhi leo* does not have this word order, but the separate Adjuncts in *leo asubuhi* do.

Compounds also occur in which one of the items is Dem of Cl. 8, *hivi*, and in which the stems are reversible, but not usually in the same position in the sentence, e.g.:

anakuja sasa hivi P A
he is coming at this moment

hivi sasa anakuja P A
at this moment he is coming

Reversal of Dem to initial position in the Adjunct is preferable in pre-verbal position, because in post-verbal position the order would result in separate Adjuncts when following immediately the verb, e.g.:

anakuja hivi sasa P A A
he is coming in this way now, i.e. like this

cf. *sasa anakuja hivi* A P A
now he is coming like this

Similar single Adjuncts are *hivi juzi* or *juzi hivi* just recently, *hivi leo* or *leo hivi* this very day, *hivi karibuni* or *karibuni hivi* just recently.

6.14. Nominals occur as Adjunct in a sort of compound with an invariable head-word. The following head-words are noted: *hadi*, *hata*, *kama*, *katika*, *mpaka*, *tangu*, *toka* or *tokea*. Examples:

nitangoja hadi saa kumi P A
I will wait until ten o'clock (Swahili time)

hata sasa sifahamu A P
even now I don't understand

nitakuja kama saa mbili P A
I will come about two o'clock (Swahili time)

alitoka katika hema yake P A
he came out of his tent

hajarudi mpaka sasa P A
he has not come back up to now

tangu mwanzo hakujaribu A P
from the beginning he didn't try

toka wakati ule hakwenda tena A P A
since that time he didn't go again
tokea saa tatu tumezungumza A P
since three o'clock (Swahili time) we have been chatting

A and P are reversible in these sentences.

Most of these head-words do not expound A without a supporting word, but hadi and hata do, e.g.:

nampenda hadi — P(O) A
I love her without limit

simpendi hata — P(O) A
I do not lover her at all

Adjuncts with a head-word occur as separate Adjuncts in a sentence, e.g.:

tangu leo mpaka kesho tutafunga — A A P
Or, tangu leo tutafunga mpaka kesho — A P A
from today until tomorrow we will fast

barabara imejengwa toka Dodoma mpaka Ujiji — S P A A
Or, toka Dodoma barabara imejengwa mpaka Ujiji — A S P A
a main road has been constructed from Dodoma to Ujiji

(2) Restricted nominals functioning as A

6.15. Restricted nominals do not function as S, but as A and occur both with and without long-series words in the group. The usual occurrence is with Pos or with sub-group 2 of Ca construct. Among the most common restricted nominals are the following: chini underneath, juu above, karibu near, kati or katikati middle, mbali far, mbele front, ndani inside, nje outside, nyuma behind, zaidi more. The forms baada after, and kabla before, do not expound A without possessive relationship. Examples:

alikwenda nje — P A
he went outside

alisimama mbele — P A
he stood in front

aliingia ndani — P A
he went inside

But:

atakuja baadaye (baada yake) P A
he will come afterwards

atakuja kabla ya mkutano P A
he will come before the meeting

The nominals baada and kabla are used with reference to time; nyuma and mbele are used most commonly with reference to place, but refer to time in groups in which supporting words establish the time reference, e.g.:

alikuja mbele ya siku tuliyokubaliana P A
he came before the day we had agreed upon

Second and third speakers of Swahili sometimes use these nominals in optional fashion, but for first speakers there is no option. Such a sentence as alikuja mbele ya mkutano can only mean 'he came before the meeting', i.e. in front of. When no referential words occur in A, mbele and nyumba refer only to place, e.g.:

alikuja mbele yetu P A
he came before us, i.e. in front of us

cf. alikuja kabla hatujafika P Con
he came before we did

Con is a conditioning clause. Or:

alikuja kabla ya kufika kwetu P A
he came before our arrival

This is the only pattern with baada to express 'he came after our arrival.'

The forms huko mbele, siku za mbele, siku za usoni all mean 'in the future'. Note again:

alisimama mbele ya kanisa P A
he stood in front of the church

alisimama mbele yake　　P A
he stood in front of him

The correlation between Pos and the Ca construct is significant for the classification of forms with peke, e.g.:

1. alisimama peke yake　　P S
he stood up by himself

tulisimama peke yetu　　P S
we stood up by ourselves

2. alisimama mbele yake　　P A
he stood up in front of it/him

tulisimama mbele yake　　P A
we stood up in front of it/him

Note in 1 the modification in Pos according to the subject-prefix of the verb. This is not matched in 2. The adjuncts with peke modify S, and so are adnominal adjuncts sharing the status of the subject-prefix, i.e. S. Compare:

yeye peke yake alisimama　　S P
he by himself stood up

sisi peke yetu tulisimama　　S P
we ourselves stood up

A corresponding structure with mbele is an impossible sequence. Note also that the word peke does not occur as the only word of its group, so that it is doubtful if it can even be given the status of a word. Compare sentences in which with Pos the prefix has no referent but the stem shows a type of agreement with the subject prefix:

alikwenda zake　　PP
he went his way

tulikwenda zetu　　PP
we went our way

The classification of PP is made because Pos is in fixed position, cannot be expanded or be represented by object-infix. The construction also occurs with the verb in the subjunctive and in imperatives, e.g.:

twende zetu subjunctive
let us go our way

nenda zako imperative
go your way

The nominals karibu near, and mbali far, occur as A both as the only word of the group and with an ad-nominal link adjunct, e.g.:

anakaa karibu P A
he lives nearby

anakaa karibu na msikiti P A
he lives near the mosque

The link adjunct na msikiti is adjunct of karibu, not of the verb, and is in fixed position. Alternately with Ca construct or Pos:

anakaa karibu ya msikiti P A
he lives near the mosque

anakaa karibu yake P A
he lives near it

Alternates occur when the nominal of the link adjunct is substituted by an affix, e.g.:

anakaa karibu nao P A
he lives near it (of msikiti mosque)

anakaa mbali nao
he lives far from it (of msikiti mosque)

anakaa karibu nasi P A
Or, anakaa karibu yetu P A
he lives near us

Nominal mbali does not take Pos.

In some contexts na of the link adjunct is omitted, e.g.:

imefika karibu na saa tatu P A
Or, imefika karibu saa tatu P A
it is almost three o'clock (Swahili time)

With Adjunct na mapema early, the link na is often omitted, e.g.:

alikuja (na) mapema P A
he came early

6.16. A restricted nominal occurs as adjunct to a locative and shares its status as A, e.g.:

anakaa kilimani juu P A
he lives on top of the hill

anakaa mjini kati P A
he lives in mid-city

Emphasis on the locative, viz. he lives on the hill at the top/he lives in the town (city, village) in the middle. Compare:

anakaa juu ya kilima P A
he lives on the top of a hill

anakaa kati ya mji P A
he lives in the middle of a town

Emphasis on the restricted nominal, but in either case the emphasis is slight.

6.17. Restricted nominals with Pos occur frequently where A is referential, i.e., referring to the time of a preceding action or event, e.g.:

tulicheza ngoma usiku kucha, na kesho yake tukachinja magombe
we danced all night, and the next day we slaughtered cattle

For kesho yake may be substituted siku ya pili or siku yake ya pili or siku ya pili yake.

tulilala porini, na asubuhi yake tukarudi mjini
we slept in the bush, and next morning we returned to the village

Pos can be omitted after asubuhi, but not after kesho in the previous sentence. Another example of alternate use with or without Pos is as follows:

tulisali, na halafu (yake) tukapata chakula
we prayed, and afterwards we took some food

6.18. Long-series nominals with fixed prefix vi- expound A, e.g.:

amefanya vibaya — P A
he had behaved badly

mambo yamepita vingine — S P A
things have happened in another way

alifanya kazi yake vizuri — P O A

alifanya kazi yake jana vizuri sana — P O A A
he did his work very well yesterday

This type of Adjunct is restricted to post-verbal position and cannot take other long-series words in its own group. It is distinguished from PP because another A can be interpolated between it and the verb, as in the last example. In Zanzibar an alternate form of this type of Adjunct occurs with fixed prefix U-, e.g.:

amefanya uzuri — P A
he has done well

amejenga nyumba yake upya (or vipya)
he has built his house anew

Compare:

naona vema sasa — P A A
I see well now (my eyesight is good)

naona vema kuondoka kesho
I think it good to leave tomorrow

In the last sentence *naona* is followed by a complementing clause, and there are latent words, e.g.:

naona kwamba ni vema kuondoka kesho
I think that it is good to leave tomorrow

(3) Demonstratives functioning as A

6.19. Dems of Cl. 8 and of the locative classes expound A, e.g.:

alisimama hivi P A
he stood like this

alisimama hapa P A
he stood here

alikwenda kule P A
he went over there

There are as many variations as there are different forms of locative Dem.

6.20. Reduplicated Dem *vilevile* occurs as ad-nominal adjunct in syntactic units expounding S, O and A, and can be substituted by the invariables *pia* and *kadhalika*, e.g.:

(1) *nyumba hii vilevile ameiuza* O P
this house as well he has sold

(2) *vilevile ameuza nyumba hii* A P O
similarly he has sold this house

In (1) *vilevile* relates to the group expounding O, not to the verb, and its position is fixed in expounding O. In (2) *vilevile* relates to the sentence P O and the order P O A occurs. Compare a sentence in which *vilevile* is adjunct to a group expounding A and in which it shares the status of the group:

katika jambo hili vilevile tumekosea A P
in this matter also we have made a mistake

cf. *vilevile tumekosea katika jambo hili* A P A (A is reversible)
similarly we have made a mistake in this matter

vilevile katika jambo hili tumekosea A A P (A is reversible)
similarly in this matter we have made a mistake

Word order is important, and ad-nominal adjuncts have fixed position after the nominal whose status they share. Again:

hapa vilevile tunapika pombe A P O or P O A
here as well we are brewing beer, i.e. just as elsewhere

vilevile hapa tunapika pombe A A P O or A P O A or P O A A
Or, *hapa tunapika pombe vilevile* A P O A
similarly here we are brewing beer, i.e. just as others are doing it
Or, here we are brewing beer just the same

hapa tunapika pombe vilevile A P O (*pombe vilevile* is O)
here we are brewing beer as well, i.e. as well as spirits

6.21. Another adjunct which functions ad-nominally as well as ad-verbally is the word *kidogo*, e.g.:

alisimama kidogo P A
he stood up for a bit

alisimama mbele kidogo P A
he stood a little way in front

cf. *alikunywa kidogo* P A
he drank a little

alikunywa maji kidogo P O
he drank a little water

kidogo alikunywa maji A P O
in small amount he drank water

6.22. The word *ovyo (hovyo)* is an eccentric Dem related to -*vi*- of Cl. 8 and expounds A, e.g.:

alisema ovyo P A
he spoke carelessly

Ovyo occurs also as an item in compound nominals, as in the following proverb:

mpanda ovyo hula ovyo S P A
a careless planter eats any old how

Locative Dems expound A in a group with a locative nominal, e.g.:

hapa mjini tumejenga kanisa A P O
here in the town we have built a church

huko kwenye maafisi ya serikali wameitengeneza barabara A P O
there where the government offices are they have mended the road

naliweka pete yangu humuhumu kisandukuni P O A
I put my ring here inside the box

(4) Ca- construct (fixed prefix) expounding A

6.23. Adjuncts with Ca construct (fixed prefix) are distinguished from those with Ca construct (free prefix), e.g.:

(I) alikwenda kwa miguu P A
he went on foot

(II) alikwenda kwa mjomba P A
he went to uncle's

In (II) A may have an antecedent locative word with which C of Ca is in agreement, but A in (I) has no antecedent. With free prefix:

alikwenda nyumbani kwa mjomba P A
he went to uncle's house

Ca constructs with fixed prefix occur very frequently to expound A and the following are a few examples:

alikubali kwa shida P A
he agreed/accepted with difficulty

aliona kwa macho yake mwenyewe P A
he saw with his own eyes

aliamini kwa moyo wake wote — P A
he believed with all his heart

kwa kuwapa watu heshima twajiheshimu — A P(O)
by giving people respect we respect ourselves

aliufungua mlango kwa kutumia ufunguo wangu — P O A
he opened the door by using my key

The position of A is reversible in these sentences, but C*a* construct with fixed prefix occurs also as a link or connective in fixed position. Its function then is to connect sentences and not to serve as an integral part of the structure. A link is denoted by a hyphen in the representation of the structure:

kwa hiyo alikubali kwa shida — - P A
and so he accepted with difficulty

The alternates are *kwa hivyo, kwa hivi, hivyo, maana yake*. The form *kwa maana* or *maana* also operates as a link, the equivalent of 'and so', with a pause before and after it, but *kwa maana* also introduces conditioning clauses. Forms *kwa sababu hii, kwa maana hii* expound A, but without Dem they behave like *kwa vile* in introducing conditioning clauses. Compare:

kwa sababu hii siendi tena — A P A
for this reason I am not going again
Dem is free, e.g., *hiyo, ile,* etc.

kwa sababu siendi tena, baba amekasirika — Con/S P or S P/Con
because I am not going again, father is angry

(5) Locatives expounding A

6.24. A locative group consists of one or more words each with a free locative affix. Locative groups expound S and A, and basically the same items occur in groups expounding both functions.

There is a restriction, however, on the sequence SsN-LsN in which LsN stands for a descriptive like 'big', 'small', 'beautiful', etc. The word mahali is the only locative nominal occurring in this sequence. A limited range of LsN's occur with locative words, viz. -ingine, -ote, -o-ote and -enyewe. With locative prefix these stems expound A also with SsN zero. Note:

tunakaa mahali pazuri P A
we are living in a nice place

tunakaa mahali pengine P A
we are living in another place

tunakaa pengine P A
we are living elsewhere

The stems -zuri and -ingine do not have equivalent uses, for mahali cannot be omitted before pazuri. The stem -ingine occurs with locative prefix only in relation to one expressed nominal, viz. mahali. The form kwengine or kwingine expounding A has no expressed antecedent, e.g.:

amekwenda kwengine P A
he has gone elsewhere

This can, of course, be regarded as a sentence with mahali zero. Note again with mahali and with mahali zero:

tulitazama mahali kote P A
Or, tulitazama kote P A
we looked all over the place

sikwenda mahali P A
Or, sikwenda mahali popote P A
Or, sikwenda popote P A
I didn't go anywhere

mahali penyewe hatukuona watu A P O
at the place itself we saw no people

This last sentence is one of the few contexts in which *mahali* is not redundant. For most sentences with *mahali* the locative LsN can do all the work, but in this sentence the emphasis is on the word *mahali*.

Again with locative SsN:

moshi uliingia nyumbani mwote S P A
smoke came into the whole house

moshi uliingia mwote S P A
smoke came in the whole place

popote tuendapo hatupewi kazi A P C
everywhere we go we get no work
Rel as substitute nominal

hatukufika nyumbani kwenyewe P A
we didn't get to the house itself

cf. *hatukuifikia nyumba yenyewe* P +O
we didn't reach the house itself

6.25. With a locative nominal other than *mahali*, the sequence SsN-LsN with any other LsN than those exemplified in 6.24 is an impossible sequence in verbal sentences, but in non-verbal sentences the other LsN's occur with locative prefix, e.g.:

kwetu nyumbani (ni) kuzuri
at our home it is nice

The equivalent of the expression 'in the nice house' is not a locative group in Swahili by our definition, though the meaning is locative, viz. *ndani ya nyumba nzuri*, or *katika nyumba nzuri*.

6.26. Compounds with *-enye* expound A, with locative prefix, and this occurs frequently when the nominal of the compound is modified by LsN or is group 1 of C*a* construct, e.g.:

tulivuka kwenye daraja lile kubwa P A
we crossed at that place with the big bridge

tulisimama penye kivuli P A
we stood where there was shade

huko kwenye kivuko cha watoto tulisimamishwa A P
there at the childrens' crossing, we were stopped

A locative group is expandable by Rel in expounding A, e.g.:

huko barabarani wanapovuka watoto wa shule tulisimamishwa A P
there on the road where the children cross, we were stopped

Here wanapovuka watoto wa shule is an additioning clause and an expansion of the locative group. An additioning clause may itself expound A, e.g.:

tulikokaa mwaka jana, wamepata njaa A P O
where we lived last year they have famine

6.27. Nominals occur as A with the shape of a locative, but they do not control locative agreements, e.g., zamani formerly, mwakani next year, karibuni near; cf. zama time, period, mwaka year, karibu near. The nominal mwakani does not occur with other words in its group. Note zamani za kale or zama za kale long ago, zamani hizi or zama hizi these times.

Locative Dems are not all locative in meaning in every context, for they may also have time reference. The group hapo zamani za kale long ago/once upon a time, is classified as a single unit in which zamani za kale is ad-nominal adjunct to Dem. Compare:

hapo zamani za kale paliondokea mzee mmoja... S P C
once upon a time there was an old man...

The group hapo...kale is S by affixal association with the subject-prefix. The word order is fixed in the S group, establishing the occurrence of ad-nominal adjunct.

hapo zamani za kale walikuja watu... A P S
once upon a time people came

Note again:

aliwafuata huku anaimba P(O) ' A P
he followed them as/while he sang

Here huku expounds A in a conditioning clause and can be substituted by a non-locative word maadam.

Place names do not have operative locative affixes, but they expound A, e.g.:

alitoka Mikindani P A
he came from Mikundani

anakaa Pangani P A
he lives in Pangani

Here the syllable -ni in the place name is part of the name and not the extra suffix associated with locatives, so that even if the verb has a locative subject-prefix, the place name is classified as A, e.g.:

Pangani kulipiga mvua nyingi A P C
it rained heavily in Pangani

Place names do, however, expound S with agreement in cl. 9, e.g.:

Dar es Salaam itazidi kuendelea mbele S P C-vn A
Dar es Salaam will increasingly progress

6.28. A occurs with a head-word consisting of the connective -na- with locative affix of two different series but of the same class. The affixes have the shape of Cl. 13 affixes, but they are fixed prefixes in the sense that they have no affixal association with prefixes in other words. Examples:

tulifika panapo saa tatu — P A
Or, tulifika mnamo saa tatu — P A
we arrived about three o'clock (Swahili time)

tulifika panapo mnara — P A
we came to where there was a town

tulifika kunako mto mkubwa — P A
we came to where there was a great river

(6) Invariables expounding A

6.29. Invariables have either no affix or a fixed prefix. In this section we consider invariables with no affix which expound A, e.g.: bado, bure, hasa, kabisa, labda, mno, pia, sana, tena and tu. These vary in their relationships to other syntactic units:

bado

bado amelala — P A
he is still asleep

hawezi bado — P A
he is still ill

bado wamesalia watu tisa — A P S
there are still nine people left

hajafika bado — P A
he has not arrived yet

A occurs either pre- or post-verbally.

With ad-nominal adjunct, bado kidogo, occurring usually in response patterns and only as a non-verbal sentence:

Q. tumekwisha fika? — P C-vn
have we arrived?

A. bado kidogo
not just yet

Learners of the language often confuse bado kidogo with baadaye kidogo, e.g.:

atakuja baadaye kidogo — P A
he will come after a little while

The invariable *bado* does not occur as A of P with verb in future tense, but only with positive -*na*- and -*me*- tenses. Its use is common in complementing clauses after a tense of the verb -*w*- be, and in non-verbal sentences, e.g.:

atakuwa bado anaendelea na kazi yake
he will be still continuing with his work

alikuwa bado anasoma shule
he was still studying in school

yeye ni mwongo, na bado ni mwizi
he is a liar, and what's more he is a thief

shauri hili bado kukatwa
this matter is not yet decided

Note the use of *bado kidogo* in a non-verbal sentence connected by link *na* to a verbal sentence:

bado kidogo na sisi tutafika salama
a little while yet and we shall arrive

bado kidogo na baba atarudi
a little while yet and father will return

cf. *baba atarudi baadaye kidogo*
father will return after a little while

But not:

baba atarudi bado kidogo

bure As A this occurs also as *kwa bure*. *Bure* is one of the very few invariables like *daima* continually, forever, and *kweli* truly, which occur both as A and as constituent of a *Ca* construct expounding S or O, e.g.:

tumesafiri bure P A
Or, *tumesafiri kwa bure* P A
we have journeyed for nothing, i.e., free journey or to no purpose

tumepanda basi bure P O A
we have had a free bus-ride
Or, we have had a bus-ride for nothing, i.e., to no purpose

Informants differ as to whether there is a difference of intonation according to the difference of meaning. The tendency is to pronounce *bure* with greater intensity and at a much higher pitch when the meaning is 'for nothing, i.e., in vain'.

tulipokea tikiti za bure P O
we received free tickets

tulipokea bure tikiti zetu P A O
we received our tickets for nothing, i.e., free, or in vain

hasa *Hasa* serves as modifier of any syntactic unit or of a whole sentence. The position of *hasa* is not fixed in relation to the group or sentence it modifies, but in expounding S transposition of the nominal group may require the introduction of Pron, e.g.:

rafiki yangu Hamisi hasa amenichokoza S P(O)
my friend Hamisi in particular has teased me

hasa rafiki yangu Hamisi yeye amenichokoza S P(O)
in particular my friend Hamisi has teased me

marafiki zangu wamenichokoza hasa Hamisi S P(O)
my friends have teased me, especially Hamisi

In the last sentence *hasa Hamisi* is S of a connected sentence in the deep structure, and is alternately connected to the first sentence by the connective *na*, e.g.:

marafiki zangu wamenichokoza na hasa Hamisi (amenichokoza)
my friends have teased me and in particular Hamisi (has teased me)

The same applies in expounding O:

nataka kalamu (na) hasa kalamu ya biro
I want a pen and especially a biro

In relation to A and sharing its group:

twawaheshimu wazee hasa kwa kuwasalimu P O A
we respect the elders especially by greeting them

In relation to the whole sentence:

ametusaidia sana, na hasa ameleta amani hapa
he has helped us a lot, and especially he has brought peace here

kabisa Modifies P and acts as intensifier of A particularly in relation to A with restricted nominal or with fixed prefix vi- or u-, e.g.:

amekataa kabisa P A
he has absolutely refused

aliingia ndani kabisa P A
he went right inside

sifahamu kabisa P A
I don't understand at all

amefanya vizuri kabisa P A
he has done very badly

Like mno and sana the intensifier kabisa occurs frequently in relation to an LsN in copulative construction or to a complement after a tense of -w- be, e.g.:

Hamisi ni mvivu kabisa
Hamisi is very, very lazy

alikuwa hodari kabisa
he was very brave/clever

labda Modifies a sentence either in pre- or post-sentence position, and so is distinct from a link. In response patterns labda also modifies a nominal group.

labda atarudi kesho A P A
perhaps he will come back tomorrow

Q. atarudi lini?
when will he come back?

A. labda kesho
perhaps tomorrow

The form pengine perhaps, maybe, also occurs, usually when the likelihood is rather more remote and in relation to P.

mno Modifies P, and also C after a tense of -w- be, e.g.:

nimekula mno I have eaten too much	P A
usivute mno don't pull too hard	P A
ni mkali mno he is too severe	Cop A
alikuwa amechoka mno he was over-tired	PP A
mti wenyewe ulikuwa mkubwa mno the tree itself was too big	S P C A

Note also kupita kiasi as A, e.g., nimekula kupita kiasi, I have eaten immoderately.

pia With the meaning 'also, as well' pia occurs after the group to which it relates. In relation to P it functions as A, but in relation to a nominal group it shares the function of the group and means 'all, every -'. This invariable occurs in some contexts as substitute for -ote and in others as an item of the -ote group, e.g.:

Hamisi pia alikuja Hamisi also came	S P
alileta ndizi na machungwa pia he brought bananas and also oranges Two sentences in the deep structure	S P
walikuja watu wote pia everybody came	P S
nimeleta vyote pia I have brought everything	P O

Sacleux quotes the proverb: *Baa pia hutoka na vijana na watumwa*, Every bad thing comes from young men and slaves. The S group is *baa pia*, the equivalent of *baa zote*. Note also: *mambo pia kwa Mungu* all things depend on God.

anaiba pia P A
he also steals

As a link with or without *na*:

alikamatwa (na) pia alihukumiwa
he was arrested, and he was convicted

sana Modifies P and occurs in verbal sentences as part of a group in which it modifies LsN. In non-verbal sentences it modifies LsN. Examples:

inafaa sana P A
it is very suitable/fitting

alicheka sana P A
he laughed very much

mti mkubwa sana umeanguka barabarani S P A
a very big tree has fallen down on the road

Juma ni mwerevu sana
Juma is very clever/crafty

tena Modifies P in fixed post-position, and occurs also as a link to connect sentences:

hakurudi tena P A
he didn't come back again

...*na tena hakumrudia mkewe*... As link
....and what's more, he didn't go back to his wife...

hakumrudia mkewe tena P _O A
he didn't go back to his wife again

tu Follows the group it modifies and shares the status of a nominal group. A modern practice by speakers for whom Swahili is not a first language is to put tu after some other group than that to which it properly belongs, e.g.:

anataka maziwa tu P O
he only wants milk, i.e., only milk

Eccentric:

anataka tu maziwa
he only wants milk

The eccentric form is probably due to English influence, i.e., the fact that 'only' precedes the English verb and not in most instances the noun.

tunacheza tu P A
we are only playing

tutakubali wale wenye tikiti tu P O
we will accept only those with tickets

Eccentric:

tutakubali tu wale wenye tikiti

If a nominal group of this type, i.e., with tu as its own adjunct, occurs initially, it introduces an emphatic copulative construction with Rel, e.g.:

wenye tikiti tu ndio watakaokubaliwa
only those with tickets will be accepted

Cf. again:

anataka kunisumbua tu P C-vn(O)
he just wants to annoy me

kunisumbua tu ndivyo anavyotaka
just to annoy me that's what he wants

If tu is an item of a nominal group expounding S, the group follows P:

walifika watu wawili tu — P S
only two people arrived

Cf. watu wawili tu ndio waliofika
only two people arrived

Chapter Seven

Non-verbal Sentences

7.00. A non-verbal sentence is a matrix sentence without Predicate. In clauses functioning as nominalisers verbs do occur, but they belong to the clause and not to the basic sentence structure.

7.01. There are two main types of non-verbal sentence: (1) with subject-prefix and (2) with no subject-prefix. In non-verbal sentences the subject-prefix precedes a nominal or another affix, and just as in verbal sentences it is the referent or co-referent of a nominal group expounding S. If the nominal group of S is zero, the subject-prefix is its own referent. With no subject-prefix, non-verbal sentences have instead a copula which in certain sentence patterns is omittable.

7.02. In standard Swahili the dominant occurrence is of forms with no subject-prefix, i.e., with a copula. The use of a subject-prefix with a nominal is more characteristic of northern Swahili, particularly the Mvita dialect of Mombasa, than of southern Swahili, and since standard Swahili is heavily dependent upon the southern dialects, especially the Unguja (Zanzibar) and Mrima (Dar es Salaam coastal region) dialects for its formation, it is not surprising that the association of subject-prefix with a nominal is much less noticeable in the standard language. The potential for such use is there, but in practice it is confined to comparatively few expressions, particularly but not exclusively in greetings. This reference to dialect usage seems to have escaped the attention of previous investigators, and consequently students of the language have been left in doubt as to the actual range of use of subject-prefix with a nominal, or else there has been speculation and even statements as to semantic distinctions between the use of the subject-prefix and of the copula. The only valid reason for presuming semantic distinction would be if in any context the use of the subject-prefix excluded the alternate use of the copula, but this is not the case.

7.03. (1) With subject-prefix. Non-verbal sentences with subject-prefix are of two types: (I) those in which the subject-prefix is associated with a nominal group, and (II) those in which the subject-prefix is associated with a locative affix. In (I) there are two sub-groups: (a) subject-prefix immediately preceding the nominal group, and (b) subject-prefix connected to the nominal group or its substitute by the connective na.

7.04. (I) Subject-prefix with nominal association

(a) Immediately preceding. The subject-prefix is an extra prefix which in positive forms is written disjunctively. In negative forms it is written conjunctively with the nominal jambo, but otherwise disjunctively. Since the copula does not allow for distinction of person, i.e., first, second and third person, sing. and pl., the subject-prefix occurs where this distinction is necessary. For this reason alone, the use of subject-prefix with a nominal group is more frequent in relation to nominals of Cl. 1 and 2 than of any other class. Note that the form of the subject-prefix third person sing. is yu and not a.

The associated nominal is either an SsN or an LsN (adjectival) or an interrogative. Of interrogatives, only nani relates to subject-prefix second person sing. and pl., but the subject-prefix occurs also before wapi, although before wapi the subject-prefix more frequently associates with a locative affix even for the three persons. The nominal group is expandable by Rel if Rel is substitute for LsN. Examples:

m hali gani?	how are you (pl)?
hatujambo	we are well
baba hajambo?	is father well?
u nani wewe?	who are you
m wazima?	are you well?
tu wazima	we are well
yu mzima	he is well
mimi ni mwanafunzi	I am a student

u macho? are you awake	*mimi si macho* I am not awake
kufuli i wapi? Preferably - *kufuli iko wapi?* where is the lock?	
sisi tu maskini Or, *sisi maskini* we are poor	*hatu maskini* we are not poor
tu tayari we are ready	*hatu tayari* we are not ready
m wavivu you (pl) are lazy	*hayu mvivu* he is not lazy Negative pl. is rare
mlango u wazi the door is open	

The positive forms occur more frequently than the negative, except in relation to *jambo*. Note that the forms for first person sing., positive and negative, have the same shape as the copula in positive and negative, viz., *ni* and *si*.

Non-verbal sentences with subject-prefix are modified by adjunct, and most frequently by invariables with that function, e.g.:

mimi ni maskini sasa
I am poor now

yu mwalimu mwema kabisa
he is a very good teacher

sijambo sana
I am very well

LsN adjectival stems like -*zuri*, -*kubwa*, etc., do not take a prefix of the first and second person, but they share with Rel the function of expanding the nominal with extra prefix, i.e., the subject-prefix, e.g.:

ninyi m wanafunzi msio na bidii
you are lazy students, lit. students who have no zeal

ninyi m wanafunzi wavivu
you are lazy students

Note that the subject-prefix of Rel agrees with that of the associated nominal and not with wa- of the nominal itself. Although wavivu does not have a prefix of second person pl., it corresponds to msio na bidii. The alternative also occurs:

ninyi m wanafunzi wasio na bidii
you are lazy students

The fact that the copula ni can be substituted for the subject-prefix in each of these sentences is further evidence of their alternate use.

7.05. (b) Subject-prefix with connective na. The verb -w- be, is employed in verbal sentences with full tense range, and when followed by a Link Adjunct expresses possession, e.g.:

alikuwa na nyumba
he had a house, i.e., he was with a house

atakuwa na mashaka
he will have doubts

In dialect, present time reference of a parallel sentence occurs with the verb -li be, e.g.:

ali na nyumba
he has a house

The same verb occurs in dialect with past time reference and the tense sign is pre-radical -a-, e.g.:

twali na nyumba
we had a house

In standard Swahili, however, the verb -*li* is zero except in Rel, and the conventional orthography joins the connective *na* to the subject-prefix, not to its associated nominal, e.g.:

ana nyumba
he has a house

This could be written conjunctively, and such indeed is the practice when the nominal is substituted by an affix of the Relative series, e.g. *nyumba anayo* a house he has one/it. The disjunctive method of writing obscures the fact that *ana nyumba* is a syntactic unit corresponding to forms like *yu mjinga* he is a fool, or *hajambo* he is well. In response pattern negatives occur in which the nominal or its substitute affix is zero, but although this is the most frequent usage, forms with the nominal or its substitute affix also occur. Distinctions of time are expressed by the use of the verb -*w*- be, but in the non-verbal counterpart reference is only to present time. Examples:

ana nguvu sana
he is very strong

mke ninaye, lakini watoto sina
I have a wife, but no children

hatuna habari
we have no news

hana nia safi
he has no good (lit. clean) intention

nyumba unayo?
Or, *una nyumba?*
do you have a house?
The form with inverted nominal and the affix
is used frequently in questions of this type

una umri gani?

Or, una miaka mingapi?
how old are you?

In locatives, hapana means 'no' or 'there is none'. With the former meaning, the word has no grammatical referent, zero or otherwise, e.g.:

Q. ulimwona baba jana?
did you see father yesterday

A. hapana, sikumwona
no, I didn't see him

The question contains no locative referent, and so the reply hapana is a fixed form. Compare:

Q. kabatini hapana siagi?
in the cupboard is there no butter?

A. hapana
there is none

Here kabatini is S and the referent of the word hapana in the answer, which is a free form substitutable by either of the other locative forms hakuna or hamna.

The subject-prefix third person sing. is a- before the connective na in standard Swahili, but yu- also occurs in dialect and in literature.

LsN's (adjectivals) do not occur in association with subject-prefix and na, but LsN's (functioning as Pron) do, viz., -ingine, -ote and -o-ote. Dem, Pos and Pron all occur. These long-series words occur most frequently in response pattern, and preference is for the use of the relative affix with the nominal, e.g.:

ninaya mwingine or nina mwingine
I have another one (of *mke*, wife)

tunavyo vyote or *tuna vyote*
we have everything (of *vitu* things)

sina chochote
I have nothing whatsoever
Not even the relative affix

mimi nina weye na Mungu
I have you and God

Connective *na* occurs with locative subject-prefix and relative locative affix in a construction corresponding to the -*enye* compound with locative prefix, but this construction does not by itself expound a non-verbal sentence:

panapo moshi pana moto
where there is smoke there is fire

cf. *penye moshi pana moto*
where there is smoke there is fire

Alternatively, Rel with verb -*li* be, is employed, e.g.:

palipo na moshi pana moto
where there is smoke there is fire

pasipo na moshi hapana moto
where there is no smoke there is no fire

7.06. *(II) Subject-prefix with locative affix*. The subject-prefixes of the three persons sing. and pl. and those of Classes 3-12 inclusively occurwith each of the three relative locative affixes -*ko*, -*po* and -*mo* in non-verbal matrix sentences. A subject-prefix relating to *mahali* occurs, but otherwise the locative subject-prefixes only rarely occur in these double-affix words. The following is an acceptable sentence only if *mahali* is retained:

mahali hapo pako hata sasa
that place is still there

The combination of subject-prefix with locative affix is a valid sentence, and the relationship to Adjunct corresponds to the relationship between P and A. Adjunct is the only syntactic unit to follow the non-verbal combination; its position is not fixed. Examples:

nipo nyumbani
I am here at home

katika mambo haya mimi simo
in these matters count me out (lit. I am not in)

tupo katika hali ya mashaka
we are in a state of doubt

simba yuko shambani
a lion is in the field

mamake hayupo
his mother is not here
Also a euphemism for: his mother is dead

mipira imo sandukuni
the balls are in the box

barua yangu haipo mezani
my letter is not on the table

7.07. The copula. In most grammars of Swahili the term "copula" is applied not only to the extra prefix ni(positive)or si (negative), but also to forms of the verb 'to be' with verbals -w- and -li. The latter expound P of a verbal sentence, but here we consider non-verbal sentences. The copula is defined as an extra-prefix with no variation of class. It is written separately, but forms a unit with the nominal group or the clause which it stabilises. A non-verbal sentence with a copula is in its complete form a statement consisting of two parts, viz., Topic and Comment, e.g.:

> nyumba yetu ni ndogo sana
> our house is very small

Topic is nyumba yetu and Comment is ni ndogo sana.

Topic-Comment can be inverted in some sentences, e.g.:

> ni ndogo sana nyumba yetu
> it is very small our house

In previous descriptions of copulative construction the question of inversion has been misunderstood, because the copula has not been identified as a constituent of Comment.(2) To invert only the nominal group of Comment, i.e., without the copula, and to give it the status of Topic is, wherever this is possible, to provide a completely different sentence. A group like ndogo sana cannot function as Topic. The general rule is that any nominal group which functions as Subject in relation to a verb (see Chapter Five) can also function as Topic in a non-verbal sentence. The group ndogo sana does not function as S, and so it does not function as Topic.

7.08. Constituents of Topic. The general rule concerning constituents of Topic, i.e., that they correspond to the groups or nominalised clauses expounding S, is not, for reasons of space, illustrated in full, but the following are some examples:

> babangu ni mgonjwa
> my father is ill

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(2) See Elizabeth Closs, 'Some Copula Constructions in Swahili', Journal of African Languages, Vol. 6, Part 2, 1967, and W. H. Whiteley 'Some Problems of the Syntax of Sentences in a Bantu Language of East Africa', Lingua, IX, 1960.

mamake si mvivu
his mother is not lazy

hayo ni mashauri mazuri
that is good advice

kufika kwetu si mbali
to reach our place is not far

The order Comment-Topic is preferred

ule mpira ulionunua ni wangu
that ball you bought is mine

Kiswahili si lugha ngumu
Swahili is not a difficult language

aliyeniandikia ni rafiki yangu Hamisi
the one who wrote to me is my friend Hamisi

In order to occur either as S or as Topic, LsN's (adjectivals) which do not have dual function (see Chapter Five, para. 5.11) need to be supported by Rel, e.g.:

aliye mdogo zaidi ni Hamisi
the smaller one is Hamisi

The only example observed with zero Rel in this type of construction is as follows:

mwema ni Mungu
only God is good

Cf. aliye mwema ni Hamisi
the good one is Hamisi

The use of Rel is optional if an emphatic copula (Em) is employed, e.g.:

mwema ndiye huyu
Or, aliye mwema ndiye huyu
the good one is this one (animate)

7.09. Nominalisation. Nominalised clauses occur in Topic or in Comment, just as they do in S or O of a verbal sentence. As

Topic preceding Comment the clause is introduced by *ya kuwa* or *ya kwamba*, and if Topic is inverted *ya* is usually omitted. The order Comment-Topic is in fact preferred for this construction, e.g.:

ni ajabu kwamba hatujapata mvua mpaka sasa
it is surprising that we have had no rain until now

Or, *ya kwamba hatujapata mvua mpaka sasa ni ajabu*
that we have had no rain until now is surprising

With the order Topic-Comment in sentences of this type, the emphatic copula is preferred and in most instances is the only form of the copula that occurs. Compare:

ni hukumu ya korti hii kwamba mshtakiwa atozwe faini
it is the judgment of this court that the accused be fined

ya kwamba mshtakiwa atozwe faini ndiyo hukumu ya korti hii
that the accused be fined, this is the judgment of this court

With the order Comment-Topic *kwamba* or *kuwa* can be omitted, e.g.:

ni kusudi la Mheshimiwa Rais kusiwepo mtu hata mmoja asiyejua kusoma
it is the President's intention that there should not be a single person who doesn't know how to read

ya kwamba kusiwepo mtu hata mmoja asiyejua kusoma ndiyo kusudi la Mheshimiwa Rais
that there should not be a single person who doesn't know how to read, this is the President's intention

When the nominalised clause occurs in Comment there is no inversion, e.g.:

neno la kusikitisha ni ya kuwa hataki kuwaheshimu wazazi wake
the sad thing is that he doesn't want to respect his parents

majibu yangu ni ya kwamba sitaweza kuondoka mpaka baadaye
my answer is that I shan't be able to leave until later on

A conditioning clause cannot expound S in a verbal sentence, but in copulative sentences it occurs as Topic. In sentences of this type the order Topic-Comment is reversible. Examples:

unavyosema si vizuri hata kidogo
the way you speak is not nice at all
Or, what you say is not nice at all

akipata mimba si ajabu
if she becomes pregnant, it is not surprising

akitaka kutoroka ni mamoja kwangu
if he wants to run away, it's all the same to me

anavyolewa siku hizi ni kupita kiasi
the way he drinks these days is beyond moderation

anavyoendelea shuleni ni jambo la furaha kwangu
the way he is progressing at school is a matter of joy to me

A conditioning clause can modify both Topic and Comment, e.g.:

akianza kukohoa ni shauri njema kumpa dawa hii
if he begins to cough it is a good thing to give him this medicine

Topic is kumpa dawa hii and Comment is ni shauri njema: the conditioning clause akianza kukohoa applies to both.

Again:

unapoona hataki kutii si vibaya kumrudi
when you find that he doesn't want to obey it is not bad to discipline him

Unapoona hataki kutii is a conditioning clause with a bound complementing clause, viz. (kwamba) hataki kutii and modifies both Topic kumrudi and Comment si vibaya.

nikijaribu kuwapatanisha maneno yangu ni bure
if I try to reconcile them, my words are useless

Topic and Comment, or in response patterns only Comment, occur also as complementing clause, e.g.:

aliniambia (kwamba) shamba lake ni dogo
he told me (that) his plantation was small

naona ni vyema
I think it is alright

aliona ni paka tu
he found or saw it was only the cat

nadhani si shauri njema
I think it's not a good idea

7.10. *Constituents of Comment*. The words of Comment occur in grammatical agreement with those of Topic, and also with no such agreement, e.g.:

maua haya ni mazuri sana *maua/mazuri* Cl. 6
these flowers are very lovely

maua haya ni mali yangu *maua* Cl. 6, *mali* Cl. 9
these flowers are my property

It is a general rule that when Topic-Comment with nominal items are reversible the copula *ni*, but not *si*, can be omitted, e.g.:

maua haya (ni) mazuri sana
these flowers are very lovely

Or, *(ni) mazuri sana maua haya*
they are very lovely, these flowers

maua haya (ni) mali yangu
these flowers are my property

Or, *(ni) mali yangu maua haya*
they are my property, these flowers

With the order Comment-Topic the sentence with *ni* omitted occurs most frequently in response/referential pattern or in questions, but not exclusively so, e.g.:

Q. (ni) mali ya nani maua haya?
whose flowers are these?

A. (ni) mali yangu maua haya
they are mine

A sentence of the type: maua haya mazuri sana these flowers are very lovely, occurs frequently in statements, but the general rule does not apply if Topic is expounded by a verbo-nominal, a nominalised clause or a conditioning clause even if Topic-Comment are reversible, e.g.:

kulima ni kazi ya maana
cultivating is important work

kusafisha meno yako kila siku ni jambo la lazima
to clean your teeth every day is a must

The order Comment-Topic occurs, but with no omission of the copula.

Comment frequently occurs with reference to a statement, i.e., a different sentence, or in answer to a question. This is the equivalent of Topic-Comment in which Topic is a nominalised clause. In sentences of this type the copula precedes a bound conditioning clause in Comment, e.g.:

(I) mkewe alimwacha kwa sababu hakumpa nguo
his wife left him because he gave her no clothes

Cf. (II) mkewe alimwacha: ni kwa sababu hakumpa nguo
his wife left him: it is because he gave her no clothes

(III) kwa nini mkewe alimwacha? (ni) kwa sababu hakumpa nguo
why did his wife leave him? (it is) because he gave her no clothes

(I) and (II) have distinct structures, for (I) is a single verbal sentence with a conditioning clause, kwa sababu hakumpa nguo. The use or omission of copula in (III) is because of the dual function of the clause either as a copulative statement as in (II) or as a conditioning clause abstracted from (I). The full form of the copulative statement, i.e., with both Topic and Comment, has a nominalised clause, but when the verbal statement is made, as in (II), or the question is asked, the nominalised clause expounding Topic is not needed:

ni kwa sababu hakumpa nguo kwamba mkewe alimwacha
it is because he gave her no clothes that his wife left him

Or, ya kwamba mkewe alimwacha ni kwa sababu hakumpa nguo
that his wife left him is because he gave her no clothes

Copula ni is not omitted in sentences with a nominalised clause as Topic. Again:

amewatukana wazee wake kana kwamba amerukwa na akili
he has abused his elders as though he were out of his mind
A single sentence.

amewatukana wazee wake: ni kana kwamba amerukwa na akili
he has abused his elders: it is as though he were out of his mind
Two sentences.

ni kana kwamba amerukwa na akili kwamba amewatukana wazee wake
it is as though he were out of his mind that he has abused his elders
A single sentence.

Comment with a bound conditioning clause does not have the same alternate forms when Topic is a nominal group, e.g.:

mbegu hizi ni kama zile tulizopata mwaka jana
these seeds are like those we had last year
Topic-Comment is reversible

Comment occurs as a sentence with zero Topic, as in (II) and (III) above. The Topic is zero in the sentence structure, but the referent of Comment is a statement or even a succession of statements not necessarily by the same speaker, or it is a question.

Comment occurs as a complementing or conditioning clause, either with or without Topic, e.g.:

(I) *naona (kwamba) ni kupoteza wakati*
I think (that) it is a waste of time

(II) *naona (kwamba) ni kupoteza wakati kumwendea tena*
I think (that) it is waste of time to go to him again

In (I) P has complementing clause consisting of Comment; in (II) the complementing clause consists of Topic (*kumwendea tena*) which may precede Comment, and Comment *ni kupoteza wakati*.

nitanunua nyumba ile kama ni nzuri
I will buy that house if it is nice

nitanunua nyumba ile kama nyumba yenyewe ni nzuri
I will buy that house if the house itself is nice

The marker word *kama* introduces Comment and Topic-Comment which function as a conditioning clause.

When Comment occurs as a definition of a single word in Topic there is no reversal of Topic-Comment and no omission of the copula, e.g.:

wali ni mchele uliokwisha pikwa
'wali' is cooked rice

The word defined can take an adnominal adjunct, e.g.:

wali maana yake ni mchele uliokwisha pikwa
the meaning of 'wali' is cooked rice

Compare a statement which is not a definition and in which Topic-Comment are reversible:

wali ni sultani ya chakula
Or, *ni sultani ya chakula wali*
rice is the king of foods

If the definition occurs first as Topic, then the word defined is Comment and occurs only with an emphatic copula, e.g.:

mchele uliokwisha pikwa ndio wali
cooked rice is what 'wali' is

7.11. The Emphatic Copula (Em). The copula ni positive and si negative have emphatic forms which are either free or fixed. The free forms are ndi- positive and si- negative in combination with an affix of the relative series or with a pronominal affix of the first or second person sing. or pl. In a free form the affix is in grammatical agreement with the nominal of Topic or of Comment. This allows for specific anomalous agreement between animates, e.g.:

kijana huyu ndiye mtu nimpendaye
this youth is the one I love

Em is in specific anomalous agreement with kijana, a Cl. 7 nominal which takes the agreements of Cl. 1, and so the affix is -ye.

The fixed forms are ndiyo positive and siyo negative, and neither of these agrees with the referent in Topic or in Comment.

The fixed forms ndiyo and siyo also occur in response to a question or statement as 'Yes' and 'No' respectively. The fixed forms ndivyo positive and sivyo also have this function in response, but they differ from ndiyo and siyo in copulative sentences in associating with a conditioning clause in Comment, not with a nominal group. In both instances there is no grammatical agreement with an antecedent, e.g.:

kusoma katika chuo kikuu ndiyo nia yangu
to study at a university is really my intention

kusoma katika chuo kikuu ndivyo nitakavyo
to study at a university is what I really want

In previous descriptions of Em the illustrative material has been so limited or of such a disputed nature that the general principles of usage with Em have either not been established or they have been misunderstood. For instance, Elizabeth Closs gives two fixed forms, *ndiyo* and *ndio*, but there is no adequate reason for supporting any difference of function in what is a single form spelt differently (1). The confusion arises perhaps because both spellings are employed for the single fixed form in a number of texts, particularly in those written by native speakers who understandably make no distinction between *ndiyo* and *ndio*.

Em replaces *ni* or *si* as an emphatic form, but marginal sentences occur with fixed Em as an optional form before Comment with *ni*. Compare:

jembe hili ndiyo ni langu   *ndiyo* is optional
this hoe is in fact mine

jembe hili ndiyo langu   *ndiyo* is fixed
this hoe is mine - that is a fact

jembe hili ndilo langu   *ndilo* is free
this is my hoe - there are others, but this is mine

7.12. *Free and Fixed Affix in Em.* In a statement the only possible group as Topic relating to Em of first or second person sing. and pl. is Pron, and the free forms are of less frequent occurrence than the fixed forms. With Pron as Topic, the Comment frequently has

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(2) Closs, op cit, pp. 109-110.

Rel as its constituent in what in some instances is an additioning clause, but a nominal group also occurs, e.g.:

mimi ndimi wa kwanza kuelewa
I am the first to understand (not anyone else)

wewe ndiwe mpenzi wangu
you are my sweetheart (no one else)

sisi ndisi viongozi wenu
we are your leaders (no one else)

ninyi ndinyi wakuu wa mji huu
you are the elders of this village (no one else)

The forms of first and second person sing. and pl. with affix -*mi*, -*we*, -*si* and -*nyi* occur more frequently in the written than in the spoken word, and the negative forms *simi*, *siwe*, etc. are becoming increasingly rare. Instead the forms with invariable or fixed affix are used, i.e., *ndiyo* (pos) and *siyo* (neg), e.g.:

mimi siyo wa kwanza kuelewa
I am not the first to understand

wewe siyo mpenzi wangu
you are not my sweetheart

The relative affixes -*ye*- Cl. 1 and -*o*- Cl. 2 are also used frequently instead of the personal affixes of first and second person, but in the plural forms the distinction between the fixed form and the free form is lost, e.g.:

sisi siyo viongozi wenu
we are not your leaders (that is a fact)

sisi sio viongozi wenu
we are not your leaders (others are)

Although these sentences are distinguished by first speakers of Swahili by stress, the streee being emphatic on *siyo* in *sisi siyo*...and on *sisi* in *sisi sio,* many speakers do not observe the distinction, and most write such forms either way.

Even though the relative affixes do not distinguish between first and second person, they are free forms because they belong to a series which embraces each of the relative affixes of the nominal classes. These forms are widely employed, even with reference to Pron of first and second person, e.g.:

mimi ndiye wa kwanza kuelewa
I am the first to understand

wewe ndiye mpenzi wangu
you are my sweetheart

sisi sio viongozi wenu
we are not your leaders

ninyi sio wakuu wa mji huu
you are not the elders of this village

This corresponds to the use of the relative affix in Rel of Comment, but note that the subject-prefix of Rel in Comment agrees with the affix, e.g.:

wewe ndiye anipendaye
you are the one who loves me

Cf. with personal affix of second person sing.:

wewe ndiwe unipendaye
you are the one who loves me

Although Em replaces the copula *ni* or *si* as an Emphatic, the presence of a free affix in Em relating to Topic suggests that it does not have quite the same relationships to Topic and the group of Comment as those of copula *ni* or *si*. The reason for considering Em as a constituent of Comment is that whereas Topic plus Em is not a complete statement Em plus Comment is, e.g.:

hawa ndio.... (incomplete)

But ndio hawa
these are the ones

Em does occur in final position with no further group and can then be classified as itself expounding Comment, e.g.:

ulivyosema ndivyo
what you said, that's how it is

Cf. ndivyo ulivyosema
that's what you said

This type of construction is confined to sentences in which there is zero Rel in Comment, e.g.:

ulivyosema ndivyo ilivyo
what you said, that's how it is

The character of the free affix must not be overlooked. It has the same shape as the relative affix and so can be presumed to have a similar relational function. If it agrees with the items in both Topic and Comment then there is an equal relationship between those items and they are interchangable, e.g.:

hawa ndio waliofika mapema
these are the ones who came early

waliofika mapema ndio hawa
the ones who came early are these

If the free affix agrees with the nominal group of Topic and not with that of Comment there is a closer relationship between Topic and Em than between Em and the group of Comment, and because of this the Topic group functions also as Comment provided that the affix of Em remains the same, e.g.:

mtu huyu ndiye kichwa cha makafiri
it is this man who is the head of the infidels, i.e., their origin

Cf. kichwa cha makafiri ndiye mtu huyu
the head (origin) of the infidels is this man

Again: kiburi chake ndicho asili ya ugomvi huu
it is his pride which is the origin of this quarrelling

asili ya ugomvi huu ndicho kiburi chake
the origin of this quarrelling is his pride

If the free affix agrees with the group of Comment but not with Topic there is a closer relationship between Em and the group of Comment than between Topic and Em, but in this case the Topic group is not transposable to Comment because it does not have the same relationship to Em, e.g.:

kiburi chake ndilo jambo linaloniudhi
his pride is the thing that annoys me

but not:

jambo linaloniudhi ndilo kiburi chake
rather jambo linaloniudhi ndilo hili, kiburi chake
the thing which annoys me is this, his pride

With a fixed affix in Em, however, there is an equal relationship between Topic and Comment and the groups of Topic and Comment are interchangable. This is a very frequent pattern, e.g.:

kiburi chake ndiyo jambo linaloniudhi
his pride is the thing that annoys me

Or, jambo linaloniudhi ndiyo kiburi chake
the thing that annoys me is his pride

Rel in Comment occurs both as Object-Relative and as Subject-Relative, e.g.:

kikapu hiki ndicho kilichonunuliwa Nairobi
it is this basket that was bought in Nairobi

kikapu hiki ndicho tulichokinunua Nairobi
it is this basket which we bought in Nairobi

With Em having a free affix the group of Comment cannot be a verb, except, of course, Rel which is a type of nominal, but after Em with fixed affix a verb does occur, e.g.:

unatafuta tumbako kutwa ndiyo huioni
you are looking for tobacco all day, and you don't see it

This can hardly be called a typical Topic-Comment sentence, but is included here because it shows that the fixed Em does not have to relate to Topic. There are many contexts in which ndiyo, siyo, ndivyo and sivyo relate to a verbal sentence, e.g.:

alikuja kwetu siyo kwa mara ya kwanza
he came to our place not for the first time

alihama kwenda Nairobi, ndipo alipoingia arusi
he moved to go to Nairobi, that was when he married

Sentences of this type with Em are conditioning clauses introduced by Em, and belong to verbal sentences rather than to copulative sentences of the structure Topic-Comment or only Comment.

7.13. Comparisons in non-verbal sentences. Non-verbal sentences occur frequently to express comparisons, and there are alternative verbal sentences, e.g.:

(I) Hamisi ni mrefu kuliko Juma
Hamisi is taller than Juma

(II) Hamisi anampita Juma kwa urefu
Hamisi is taller than Juma

In both sentence types the comparison is made by the use of adjunct, e.g., kuliko Juma in (I) and kwa urefu in (II). The use of adjunct is optional since both sentences are valid without it, but with a different meaning. Sentence (II) without adjunct means 'Hamisi is passing Juma'. Comparisons can therefore be considered with particular reference to the different groups which function as adjunct.

7.14. With *kuliko*. The word *kuliko* is not by itself a syntactic unit when it occurs as Adjunct, but as Rel with free locative affixes it functions like any other Rel as Subject or as Rel of a conditioning clause, e.g.:

(I) *kuliko (na) mvua kuna mavuno mengi*
where there is rain there are plentiful crops

(II) *tulisimama palipo na mti mkubwa*
we stood where there is a big tree

In (I) *kuliko (na) mvua* is the referent of subject-prefix *ku-* and so expounds Subject. In (II) *palipo na mti mkubwa* is a conditioning clause. As component of Adjunct *kuliko* is a fixed form whether in verbal or non-verbal sentences, i.e., it has no affixal association with any other unit in the sentence, e.g.:

dawa hii (ni) chungu kuliko ile niliyokunywa jana
this medicine is more bitter than that I drank yesterday

So long as Rel refers to an expressed nominal or its substitute (Dem,Pos) it is included within Adjunct, for Rel is then an additioning clause expanding the nominal group. Without such a referent, Rel is the verb of a conditioning clause, e.g.:

dawa hii (ni) chungu kuliko nilivyodhani
this medicine is more bitter than I thought

The nominal of Comment can be of any nominal class, including verbo-nominals and locatives. Note examples with neuter PP (see Ch. 4.21):

afadhali kumsaidia kuliko kumfukuza
better to help him than to drive him away

heri kupatana naye kuliko kukosana naye
better to agree with him than to differ with him

With locative:

hapa (ni) pazuri kuliko pale
here is nicer than there

In non-verbal sentences the use of kuliko to express comparison is limited to sentences with subject-prefix or copula preceding a nominal and does not include sentences with subject-prefix preceding a locative affix, e.g.:

(I) nyumba yetu ni mbali kuliko kwenu
our house is further away than your place

(II) nyumba yetu iko mbali kuliko (na) boma la serikali
our house is far away there where the administrative building is

In (I) kuliko is a fixed form, but in (II) kuliko (na) boma la serikali is a conditioning clause in which kuliko is Rel with variable affixes, cf.:

nyumba yetu iko mbali walipo (na) boma la serikali
our house is far away there where they have an administrative building

With linked Subject, i.e., with subject-prefix linked to nominal group by na, Adjunct with kuliko occurs only if the nominal is modified by LsN (adjectival) in contexts in which absence of the LsN would result in kuliko being a free locative, e.g.:

ana shamba kubwa kuliko langu
he has a bigger field than mine

ana shamba kubwa kuliko mimi
he has a bigger field than I have

ana shamba kubwa kuliko shamba langu mimi
he has a bigger field than my field

Compare:

ana shamba kuliko langu
he has a field where mine is
Here kuliko langu is a conditioning clause.

Again:

ana akili zaidi kuliko nduguye
Or ana akili kuliko nduguye
he is more intelligent than his brother

The omission of zaidi is permissible because the context does not allow for operation of kuliko as free locative Rel.

7.15. With kupita or kushinda. The verbo-nominals kupita or kushinda introduce Adjunct in comparisons, and are often alternates for kuliko, but not in every sentence, e.g., they do not modify neuter PP. If the nominal of Adjunct is animate of Cl. 1 the verbo-nominal takes the object-infix, e.g.:

Juma ana akili kumpita nduguye
Juma is more intelligent than his brother

wanafunzi wenu wana bidii kushinda wangu
your students are more diligent than mine

dawa hii (ni) chungu kupita ile
this medicine is more bitter than that

ng'ombe hawa (ni) wanono kushinda wale
these cows are fatter than those

Compare the corresponding verbal sentences:

Juma anampita nduguye kwa akili S P O A
Juma surpasses his brother in intelligence

wanafunzi wenu wanashinda wangu kwa bidii
your students beat mine for diligence

dawa hii inapita ile kwa uchungu
this medicine surpasses that for bitterness

ng'ombe hawa wanashinda wale kwa unono
these cows beat those for fatness

7.16. *With zaidi*. Ca construction occurs in comparison as Adjunct with *zaidi* as sub-group 1, e.g.:

mkufu huu (ni) mzuri zaidi ya ule
this ornamental chain is nicer than that one

ndizi hizi (ni) tamu zaidi ya zile
these bananas are sweeter than those

Adjunct occurs as an optional element with *zaidi* as follows:

Nairobi na Mombasa, Nairobi (ni) karibu zaidi
Nairobi is nearer than Mombasa

meza hii na ile, hii (ni) ndogo zaidi
this table is smaller than that one

baina ya watu hawa wawili huyu ndiye mwenye akili zaidi
of these two people this one is the more intelligent

miongoni mwa makabila ya Kiafrika hakuna lililo zuri zaidi kuliko letu
amongst the African peoples there is no better than ours

7.17. *With kama*. First speakers of Swahili sometimes use *kama* as an alternate for *kuliko* as Adjunct, e.g.:

afadhali kunena kweli kama kusema uwongo
better to speak the truth than to tell a lie

bora dhahabu kama fedhati
gold is better than silver

The combination *kama nini* occurs as Adjunct, and is sometimes contracted to *kamani*, e.g.:

yeye ni mtalaamu hodari kama nini
he is an incomparably good scholar

mwaka huu kuna machungwa kamani
this year there are innumerable oranges

Note the use of *kama* in the following sentences:

machungwa haya si matamu kama yale
these oranges are not as sweet as those

mabalungi hayana utamu kama ndizi
citrons are not as sweet as bananas

kofia yako ni sawa kama yangu
your cap is the same as mine

7.18. Superlatives. Superlatives are expressed by the use of invariables functioning as optional Adjunct, especially kabisa, mno and sana, e.g.:

hii ndiyo njia ya karibu kabisa
this is the nearest way

Dar es Salaam ndio mji mzuri kabisa
Dar es Salaam is a great town

A further optional Adjunct occurs with -ote as follows:

Dar es Salaam ndio mji mzuri kabisa kuliko miji yote ya Tanzania
Dar es Salaam is the finest town in Tanzania

Note also:

nyumba hii (ni) nzuri kuliko nyumba zote mjini
this house is the best in the village

Kilimanjaro (ni) mrefu kupita milima yote ya bara
Kilimanjaro is the tallest mountain upcountry

minazi hii mirefu kushinda miti yote ya mashamba yangu
these coconuts are the tallest trees in my plantation

Again:

nguo zangu nzuri, lakini nguo zako nzuri mno
my clothes are nice, but yours are nicer

katika minazi hii mrefu sana ni ule wa tatu
of these coconut trees the tallest is that third one

Chapter Eight

Interrogative Sentences

8.00. Swahili interrogative sentences are of two types, as follows:

(a) Sentences asking for verification of the proposition the sentence contains. The answer is provided either by the equivalent of "Yes" or "No", or by a statement asserting the truth or otherwise of the proposition, and often by both.

(b) Sentences asking for completion of the proposition the sentence contains. One functional element is empty and is substituted in the question by an interrogative word.(1)

8.01. Questions seeking verification. Previous grammars note that there are differences of intonation in questions as compared to corresponding statements. This is true, but any attempt to record from standard Swahili regular patterns of intonation is made on the presumption either that standard Swahili has developed identifiable patterns or that patterns associated with a Swahili dialect have been regularly maintained in the wider context. Neither presumption is true. There is so much variance that little more can be done than to note some general features. Generally in a question seeking verification there is a step-up or rise in the pitch beginning on the second syllable of the first word and coming to its climax on the penultimate syllable, the highest tone, and then a low tone on the final syllable, e.g.:

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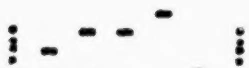
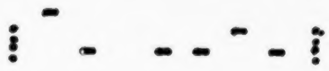
(1) I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Jeanette Johnson, for suggesting these types.

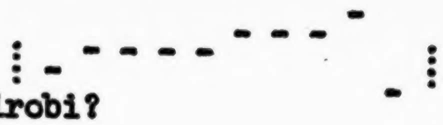
unamfahamu?
do you know him?



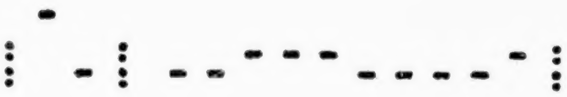
ndiyo, namfahamu
yes, I know him



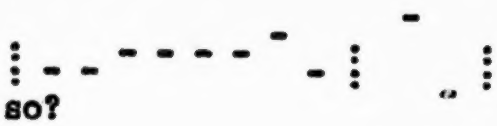
umepata kufika Nairobi?
have you ever been to Nairobi?



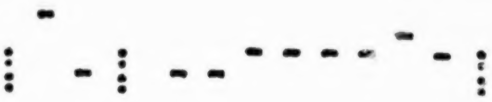
ndiyo, nimepata kufika Nairobi
yes, I have been to Nairobi



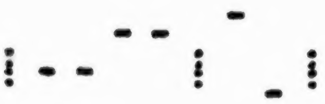
alikuwa amelewa, sivyo?
he was drunk, isn't that so?



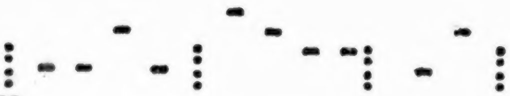
ndiyo, alikuwa amelewa
yes, he was drunk



utakuja kesho?
will you come tomorrow?



hapana, sitakuja kesho
no, I shan't come tomorrow



Those for whom Swahili is not a first language tend to make more frequent use of the interrogative marker je in initial position, because within the context of standard Swahili there is so much uncertainty about the interrogative pattern to be adopted. Although a general pattern is given above, it by no means follows that it is the only one that occurs.

The sentence accompanying the fixed Em in reply is used much more frequently than in a corresponding English context. In many instances it is considered impolite not to give the answer in full.

8.02. *Questions seeking completion.* Both verbal and non-verbal sentences occur as questions with an interrogative word substituting the word needed for completion of the sentence, e.g.:

(I) Verbal sentence: Q. *nani alikuja?*
who came?

A. *baba alikuja*
father came

(II) Non-verbal sentence: Q. *ni nani aliyekuja?*
or *aliyekuja ni nani?*
who is it who came?

A. *ni baba aliyekuja*
or *ndiye baba aliyekuja*
it is father who came

In (I) *nani* is substitute for S, i.e., *baba*: in (II) *nani* is substitute for *baba* in Comment of a non-verbal sentence, and *aliyekuja* is Topic, with the order Topic-Comment also occurring. The Rel is substitute for a nominal, e.g.:

Q. *ni nani Hamisi?*
or *Hamisi ni nani?*
who is Hamisi?

A. *ni ndugu yangu Hamisi*
or *ndiye ndugu yangu Hamisi*
Hamisi is my brother

In non-verbal interrogative sentences, Topic is sometimes zero and the copula is omitted, e.g.: *nani?* who is it?, cf. *ni nani?*

saa ngapi sasa?
what time is it now?

It is reasonable to relate this to a sentence acceptable in the written word, but which hardly ever occurs in speech:

saa za mchana (usiku) ni saa ngapi sasa?
the hours of the day (or night) are how many hours now?

(ni) saa mbili za mchana (usiku)
(it is) two o'clock daytime (night time)

Note again non-verbal sentences with Topic and Comment:

maana yake nini? Topic-Comment reversible
or *maana yake ni nani?*
what does it mean?

jina lako nani? Topic-Comment reversible
or *jina lako ni nini?*
what is your name?

kiasi gani viatu hivi? Comment-Topic reversible
or *ni kiasi gani viatu hivi?*
how much are these shoes?

8.03. According to function, interrogative substitutes are classified into three categories, as follows: substitutes for (a) a member of a word-class, (b) a syntactic unit, and (c) a conditioning clause. Categories (a) and (b) are not mutually exclusive, because obviously a single word functioning as a syntactic unit is also a member of a word-class, but within category (a) there are interrogatives which in some contexts do not without a related SsN expound a syntactic unit, e.g.:

alikuja saa ngapi? P A
what time did he come?

The interrogative *ngapi* here is substitute for a long-series word, in this case a numeral, and A is expounded by the group *saa ngapi*, so that in this context the interrogative is substitute for a member of a word-class. In contexts in which the SsN is zero, however, this interrogative is substitute for a syntactic unit, e.g.:

	walikuja wangapi?	P S
or	*wangapi walikuja?* how many came (of animates)?	S P

8.04. *Substitute for a member of a word-class.* The interrogatives -*ngapi* and -*pi* occur as substitute for a member of a word-class, but will be mentioned also as substitute for a syntactic unit. The invariable interrogative *gani* occurs only as substitute for a member of a word-class. In verbal sentences these interrogatives occur as components of a group expounding O, A, C, and also S, but with their occurrence in S there are certain restrictions and a corresponding non-verbal sentence is preferred. Examples:

	utamchagua mwanafunzi yupi? which student will you choose	P O
	utamchagua yupi? which one will you choose? (animate)	P O
	nitamchagua mwanafunzi huyu I will choose this student	P O
or	*nitamchagua huyu* I will choose this one	P O
	ulikwenda mara ngapi? how many times did you go?	P A
	nalikwenda mara moja I went once	P A
	ulimpelekea barua ngapi? how many letters did you send to him?	P(O) C
	ulisikia habari gani huko pwani? what sort of news did you hear at the coast?	P O A
	nilisikia habari njema tu I heard only good news	P O

utakwenda namna gani? how will you go?	P A
nitakwenda kwa basi I will go by bus	P A
utakwenda kwa njia ipi? which way will you go?	P A

The choice is between routes of the same means of transport.

utakwenda kwa njia gani? how will you go?	P A

The choice is between different means of transport.

Note that namna gani is used as an exclamation also, like saying, "Goodness gracious, what's the idea!"

As components of S, these interrogatives occur most frequently in post-verbal position after passives or in contexts in which there is no O, e.g.:

kilipikwa chakula gani? what sort of food was cooked?	P S
ilishinda timu ipi? which team won?	P S
zilitolewa shilingi ngapi? how many shillings were given?	P S

Note also the occurrence in C after a verb in which the subject-prefix has no referent:

	kulitokea habari gani?	P C
or	ilitokea habari gani? what happened?	P C

Although the order S P occurs, e.g., chakula gani kilipikwa? it is not considered good style, and first speakers of Swahili prefer a non-verbal sentence in which the interrogative group is component of Comment, e.g.:

ni chakula gani kilichopikwa?
what sort of food is/was cooked?

ni timu ipi iliyoshinda?
which team won?

ni shilingi ngapi zilizotolewa?
how many shillings were given?

In sentences with S and O or with S, O and C, the interrogative group with -pi, -ngapi and gani occurs in S, but once again preference is given to a non-verbal sentence, e.g.:

chakula kipi chakupendeza zaidi? S P(O) A
which food pleases you more?

chakula gani chakupendeza zaidi? S P(O) A
what sort of food pleases you more?

viongozi wetu wangapi wamekubali shida? S P O
how many of our leaders have accepted hardship?

maneno gani yatamrudishia furaha yake? S P(O) C
what words will restore to him his happiness?

But preferably:

ni chakula kipi kinachokupendeza zaidi?
which food pleases you more?

ni chakula gani kinachokupendeza zaidi?
what sort of food pleases you more?

ni wangapi miongoni mwa viongozi wetu waliokubali shida?
how many among our leaders are there who accept(ed) hardship?

Miongoni mwa viongoni wetu in Comment is adnominal adjunct. The time reference of Rel is known only from the context in discourse, because the same form with tense-sign -li- applies both to past and present.

ni maneno gani yatakayomrudishia furaha yake?
what sort of words will restore to him his happiness?

8.05. Substitute for a syntactic unit. The interrogative nani is substitute for S and for the nominal group of O. Since the object-infix occurs in the verb, nani is substitute O, but the object-infix does not occur in sentences with nini as objectival substitute. The interrogative nini is substitute for O and C. In non-verbal sentences, nani and nini occur in Comment, and so also do the free Ca forms -a nani, -a nini. Examples:

nani	nani atasomesha? who will teach?	S P
	utamsomesha nani? whom will you teach?	S P
-a nani	wa nani mtoto huyu? whose child is this?	
	cha nani kitambaa hiki? whose is this cloth?	
nini	umenunua nini? what have you bought?	P O
	utampa nini? what will you give him?	P(O) C
-a nini	ya nini makelele haya? what's this din about?	
	kitu hiki ni cha nini? what is this thing for? or what does this belong to?	

The interrogative nini also occurs as substitute for A. It is important to note that A is an optional unit in both statements and questions, but not if A occurs with the verb -w- be, e.g., ilikuwa nini? If the subject-prefix here refers to a nominal of Cl. 9, then nini is substitute for C, and the sentence means "What is it?", but if the subject-prefix has no referent, and so could alternatively be Cl. 13 ku-, the sentence means, "How was it?", and the answer is: ilikuwa hivi it was like this. This double function occurs also with the interrogative enclitics -ni and -je, e.g.:

analiliani
what is he crying for?
or what is he crying about?

anamlilia mama yake P O
he is crying for his mother

The enclitic is substitute for O.

analia kwa sababu mama yake alimkemea
he is crying because his mother rebuked him

The enclitic is substitute for a conditioning clause.

Again:
nitasemaje?
what shall I say?
or how shall I speak?

utasema maneno haya P O
you will speak these words

The enclitic is substitute for O.

utasema bila kuogopa P A
you will speak without being afraid

The enclitic is substitute for A.

Again:
nitakuwaje mwalimu mimi?
how shall I be a teacher?

hizo njugu za kwenu zikoje?
how are those groundnuts at your place?

Interrogative words substituting for A include the invariables lini, wapi and vipi. The enclitic -pi occurs with the same function. Examples:

alirudi lini? P A
when did he come back?

amekwenda wapi? P A
or amekwendapi?
where has he gone

ulisikia vipi habari hiyo? P A O
how did you hear about that?

In non-verbal sentences lini, wapi and vipi occur in Comment, and wapi occurs frequently in relation to words with subject-prefix and locative affix, e.g., yuko wapi? where is he? These forms also occur as items in a complementing clause. Examples:

ni lini atakapofika?
when is it he will arrive?

ni wapi alikokwenda?
where is it he went?

ni vipi alivyofanya?
how is it he behaved?

sijui ni lini atakapofika
or sijui atafika lini
I don't know when it is he will arrive

sijui ni wapi alikokwenda
or sijui alikwenda wapi
I don't know where he went

sijui ni vipi alivyofanya
or sijui alifanya vipi
I don't know how he behaved

8.06. Substitute for a conditioning clause. The interrogative word mbona and the fixed Ca construct kwa nini occur as substitute for a conditioning clause. There are interrogative nominal groups which include an interrogative word, and although the interrogative word in the group is substitute for Dem, the group as a whole is substitute for Dem, the group as a whole is substitute either for A or for a conditioning clause. To illustrate this the answers are given to the questions in the following examples:

mbona huniamini? A P(O)
why don't you believe me?

sikuamini kwa sababu maneno yake si kweli P(O) Conditioning clause
I don't believe you because your words are not true

kwa nini ulilala mapema? A P A
why did you go to bed early?

kwa sababu nalikuwa siwezi Conditioning clause
because I wasn't well

The interrogatives lini, wapi, vipi, mbona and kwa nini do not have fixed position, but they do have a preferred position, viz., lini, wapi and vipi occur most frequently in post-verbal position, while mbona and kwa nini have preferred pre-verbal position.

The invariable gani occurs as an item in interrogative groups substituting for A or for a conditioning clause, e.g.:

kwa ajili gani?	for what cause?
kwa sababu gani?	for what reason? why?
kwa kusudi gani?	for what purpose?
kwa muda gani?	for how long?
kwa wakati gani?	for what occasion in time?

There are other occurrences with other interrogatives, e.g. kwa ajili yake nani? for whose sake? kwa sababu ya nini? because of what? etc. In most instances the Ca element is omittable, and its omission is in some instances significant for meaning. Examples:

alikaa kwenu (kwa) muda gani? P A A
how long did he stay at your place?

alikaa kwetu (kwa) muda wa wiki mbili P A A
he stayed at our place for two weeks

alifika kwa wakati gani? P A
for what occasion (in time) did he come?

alifika kwa sikukuu P A
he came for the festival

alifika wakati gani? P A
at what period did he come?

alifika asubuhi P A
he came in the morning

alifika kama wakati gani? P A
at about what time did he come?

alifika kama saa sita za mchana P A
he came about mid-day

alikuja kwa sababu gani? P A
for what reason did he come?

alikuja kwa sababu hii P A
he came for this reason

alikuja kwa ajili ya mwanawe P A
he came for his son's sake

alikuja kwa sababu alitaka pesa P Con
he came because he wanted money

These interrogative sentences occur as a complementing clause:

nataka kujua alikaa kwenu kwa muda gani?
I want to know how long he stayed at your place

sijui alifika wakati gani
I don't know at what period of time he came

Alternatively the complementing clause is of non-verbal structure:

nataka kujua ni kwa muda gani (kwamba)alikaa kwenu
I want to know how long it was that he lived at your place

sijui ni wakati gani alipofika
I don't know when it was he came

Chapter Nine

Clauses and Links

9.00. The three types of clause in Swahili sentence structure are classified as follows:

(1) An additioning clause (Add): an expansion of a nominal group expounding Subject, Object, Complement, or Adjunct.

(2) A conditioning clause (Con): conditioning the statement in the matrix sentence without being an expansion of any syntactic unit in the matrix sentence.

(3) A complementing clause (Comp): functioning as complement of a Predicate.

9.01. The underlying structure of Add and Comp, but not of Con, is that either of a verbal or a non-verbal sentence. Swahili clauses, therefore, have their own syntactic units, but these are not identified here in the representation of the structure unless there is a particular reason for doing so.

9.02. Interdependent and consecutive sentences also occur. The former are hypothetical sentences with the hypothetical infix -nge- or -ngali- in one or both of the interdependent verbs. Consecutive sentences are non-initial sentences linked to a preceding sentence by a specific link or containing the consecutive verbal infix -ka-.

9.03. Additioning clauses (Add). Expansion of a nominal group expounding S, O, C or A. Since an object-infix may by itself expound O, Add may relate directly to the infix. As an expansion of S, Add is invariably a Rel. The clause is included within the oblique strokes in the following examples:

9.04. Expansion of S.

watu / waliokuja afisini / walipewa vyeti S P O
people who came to the office received chits

watoto / wasiozaliwa kwetu / hawakuandikwa S P
children not born at our place were not written down

matunda yale / aliyoyanunua sokoni / yameoza S P
the fruit he bought at the market has gone bad

9.05. Expansion of O.

tulimkuta mwanamke mmoja / anapika chakula / P O
we met a woman cooking food

tulimkuta yule mwanamke / aliyetupikia chakula juzi / P O
we met that woman who cooked for us the other day

naliona watu / wakipelekwa bara / P O
I waw people being taken up-country

nalimwona mtu / amesimama mlangoni / P O
I saw a man standing at the door

If the nominal group of O occurs, as in the above sentences, Add has fixed position, but when Add relates directly to the object-infix Add with Rel can precede the verb. If the subject of Rel is animate, Dem introduces Rel in most contexts, but Dem is omittable also, e.g.:

tuliwashangilia / walioshinda mtihani / P O
we congratulated those who passed the examination

(wale) / walioshinda mtihani / tuliwashangilia O P
(those) who passed the examination, we congratulated them

The pre-verbal position is preferred for inanimates:

kilichoharibika / amekitengeneza O P
the thing which was damaged he has mended

/ alichokiharibu mtoto / baba yake amekitengeneza O S P
what the child damaged, his father has mended

When Rel occurs with no other syntactic unit, it can be regarded as a simple nominal substitute, and not a clause.

With Add a non-Rel, the position is fixed post-verbally even though Add relates directly to the object-infix, e.g.:

tulimkuta / anapika chakula / P O
we found her cooking

tulimkuta / amelala usingizi / P O
we found him asleep

Classification of Add as an expansion of a syntactic unit means that it shares the function of that unit, but of course if we were analysing clause structure it would be necessary to refer to the syntactic units of the clause. It is a question of the level on which the function is being described.

Rel may expound O in sentences in which there is no object-infix. The Rel cannot then be classified as Add, because there is no item or group which it expands. Rel is then a nominal substitute. Functioning as O it corresponds to nominals expounding O which may, but are not, represented in the verb as an object-infix, e.g.:

hutapata lisilopatikana P O
you will not get what is unobtainable

Compare:

lisilopatikana hutalipata O P
what is not obtainable, you will not get it

sikusikia aliyosema P O
I did not hear what he said

Compare:

aliyoyasema sikuyasikia — O P
what he waid I did not hear

najua anapokaa — P O
I know where he lives

anapokaa napajua — O P
where he lives I know it (place)

sijui alikokwenda — P O
I don't know where he went

alikokwenda sikujui — O P
where he went, I do not know (place)

The comparative sentences with object-infix show Add, but the sentences without an object-infix show Rel as nominal substitute. Rels with relative infix of the shape of Cl. 8, but for which there is no referent are in a different category from the above Rels, because they cannot be represented in the matrix verb by an object-infix. They are Rels expounding a different type of clause, e.g.:

alifanya nilivyofanya mimi
he did as I did

Here nilivyofanya mimi is a conditioning clause, and can be introduced by kama, viz. alifanya kama nilivyofanya mimi:

sielewi alivyorudi mapema
I don't understand how he came back early

Here alivyorudi mapema is a complementing clause and can be introduced by jinsi, a nominal that in this context cannot be represented in the verb by an object-infix, viz. sielewi jinsi alivyorudi mapema, I don't understand how he came back early.

9.06. Expansion of C.

alinipa kitabu / kilichochukua habari za vita / P(O) C
he gave me a book about warfare

alinipigia ile simu / niliyoitaka / P(O) C
he made the phone call I wanted for me

9.07. Expansion of A. Since A does not have a referent and Add cannot occur without a referent, Add cannot itself expound A, but occurs as an expansion of a nominal group expounding A. The following is an example:

kiti kimoja kilisukumwa chini ya mvungu wa meza / iliyokuwapo chini ya ukuta / baina ya mashubaka mawili / yaliyojazwa vitabu /

one chair was pushed under the table (which was) beneath the wall between the two window-recesses which were crammed with books

The whole stretch chini ya mvungu...vitabu expounds A in two groups, viz. chini ya mvungu...ukuta, and baina...vitabu, and could be classified as A A. The Rel groups within the strokes are Add expanding nominals of A.

9.08. Conditioning clauses (Con). Con has no essential affixal association with any item of the matrix sentence and so is not an expansion of any syntactic unit in the matrix sentence, e.g.:

/ wakisoma shule / watoto wataelimishwa
if they go to school, children will be educated

The agreement between wakisoma and watoto is a concomitant, not an essential agreement, for sentences occur with Con in which there is not even concomitant agreement, e.g.:

/ wakisoma shule / sisi twafurahi
if they go to school, we are glad

Con must be distinguished from Add, especially when there are concomitant agreements, e.g.:

(I) matunda / yakiwa mabivu / tutayanunua /Con/
if the fruits are ripe, we will buy them

(II) watu / walio hodari / tutawasifu /Add/
people who are brave, we will praise them

Sentence (I) may be preceded by kama, the marker-word of an "if" clause, but not in sentence (II). The matrix verb in (II) can be in the past tense, but not in sentence (I) with a Con clause. However, because of English influence, sentences increasingly occur with the equivalent of the English participle of the verb "to be", e.g.:

matunda / yakiwa mabivu / tuliyanunua /Add/
the fruits being ripe, we bought them

Many speakers would accept this sentence, but first speakers of Swahili would prefer such a sentence as:

matunda / kwa kuwa ni mabivu / tuliyanunua /Con/
the fruits, because they were ripe, we bought them

Note the following typical sentence from a radio broadcast in which the modern tendency is clearly shown:

msikilizaji mmoja / akiwa Eldoret / ameuliza rekodi hii
a listener from Eldoret has asked for this record

Here akiwa E. is Add, but a preferable use for Add is Rel, e.g., aliyeko E. who is at E., or akaaye E. who lives at E. The modern usage allows for the use of akiwa E. in initial position, but first speakers do not allow Add to precede its referent. Note also -uliza ask, instead of the more acceptable -omba ask for.

Conditioning clauses in relation to the matrix sentence correspond in function to A in relation to P, i.e., the function, in the traditional terminology, is adverbial. The different types of

Con have to be classified according to their morphological structure and their meaning, but they all have the same general function. In traditional grammars the tendency has been to emphasise differences of morphological structure or meaning with the result that clauses with the same general grammatical function have appeared to be in different general grammatical categories. If a distinction is made between "if" sentences (conditional) and, say, temporal clauses with infix -po- or clauses of purpose, the distinction no doubt helps the learner, but it tends to hide the fact that all such clauses have the same general function, viz. to condition the statement in the matrix sentence.

The position of Con is generally not fixed in relation to the matrix sentence, i.e. it can precede or follow the matrix sentence. The following are some typical examples of Con:

/ aliposema maneno hayo / walianza kumcheka
when he said those words, they began to laught at him

/ akisema maneno hayo / walianza kumcheka
as he said those words, they began to laugh at him

/ akisema maneno hayo / wataanza kumcheka
if he says those words, they will begin to laugh at him

/ alivyosema maneno hayo / walianza kumcheka
because of the way he spoke those words, they began to laugh at him

9.09. Marker words of Con (M-). Conditioning clauses are frequently introduced by a marker word. This is a nominal or an invariable which modifies the clause, but its fixed pre-verbal position and unexpandable form distinguishes it from Adjunct. The marker word is certainly an important item in the verb phrase, but it can hardly be classified as component of PP. In certain instances it can be omitted when the verb itself has a conditioning infix, e.g. -*vyo*- or -*ki*-, and without it the dependent verb occurs with slightly modified meaning. In other instances again, the verb cannot occur as verb of Con without its marker word, e.g. as with *kabla* or *kama* when followed by a primary tense. The important factor is that in relation to the verb the marker word has a conditioning function, and so it should have separate representation as M joined by a hyphen to the next syntactic unit. Compare:

(I) *kwa sababu hiyo alikataa* A P or P A
for that reason he refused

(II) */ kwa sababu baba alikataa / mimi nilinyamaza* M-S P/S P
because father refused, I kept quiet

In (I) *kwa sababu hiyo* is a complete nominal group expounding A, but in (II) *kwa sababu* is incomplete and serves to modify the clause. The use of a hyphen in our representation of the structure indicates the special relationship to the syntactic units of the clause.

9.10. The following marker words occur also in groups expounding Adjunct: *kama*, *hata*, *kabla*, *kwa sababu*, *mpaka*, *tangu*, *toka* and *wakati*, e.g., *kama hivi* like this, *hata sasa* until now, *kabla ya haya*, before this, *kwa sababu hii* for this reason, *mpaka leo* until today, *tangu jana* since yesterday, *toka* Nairobi from Nairobi, *wakati mwingine* at another time.

9.11. Marker words of Con are classified into two general categories: (I) those which co-occur with a dependent verb having a conditioning infix, viz. -ki-, -po- and -vyo-, and (II) those which co-occur with no conditioning infix:

(I) With verbs having a conditioning infix.

9.12. (a) With -ki-. The marker words are hata and kama, e.g.

/ hata tukiondoka mapema / hatuwezi kufika siku ile M- PA/P C-vn A
even if we leave early we can't arrive that day

/ kama ukisema hivyo / atakupeleka mbele ya korti M- PA/P(O) A
if you speak like that he will take you to court

Kama is optional with -ki- in the verb. There are no corresponding negatives with infix -ki-, but only with infix -po-.

9.13. (b) With -po-. The marker words are hata, [illegible] mpaka, ila. tangu, toka and wakati. With hata and kama the corresponding negative of forms with -ki- have the negative infix -si-, in -sipo-, e.g.

/ hata misipomwandikia sasa / nitamwandikia kesho M- P(O) A/P(O) A
even if I do not write to him now, I will do so tomorrow

/ kama usipokiri / nitamwendea mkubwa wako M- P/ P O
unless you confess, I will go to your elder
kama is optional.

The range of tenses occurring with each marker word varies, e.g., hata, wakati and mpaka occur with verb in past, present and future, but tangu or the more modern toka occurs only with the verb in the past tense. The time reference of verbs with infix -ki- and marker word is taken from the matrix verb. Without the marker word, verb with infix -ki- in Con has only present or future time reference. Compare with marker word:

hata akijaribu tena / alishindwa kuufungua mlango M- P A/P C-vn O
even when he tried again he was unable to open the door

/ hata akijaribu tena / atashindwa kuufungua mlango M- P A/P C-vn O
even if he tries again he will be unable to open the door

/ tangu ilipofungwa njia / wanyama wameonekana hapa M- P S/S P A
since the road was closed, animals have appeared hereabouts

/ wakati limapochimbwa shimo / wanapenda kuimba M- P S/P C-vn
whsle the pit is being dug, they like to sing

/ toka alipokwenda zake / sijamwona tena M- PP/P A
since he went off, I haven' seen him again

The invariable *hata* occurs also as a link, and since Con may occur with no marker word, *hata* occurs as a link before Con. The distinction then between its use as marker word of Con and its use as a link is a matter of intonation. As marker of Con *hata* has high tones, but as a link the intonation pattern is Low-High. The following sentence has two connotations according to the function of *hata*:

/ hata alipojaribu tena / hakuweza kuufungua mlango M- P A/P C-vn O
even when he tried again, he was unable to open the door

hata / alipojaribu tena / hakuweza kuufungua mlango P A/P C-vn O
and so, when he tried again, he was unable toopen the door

With *ila*:

mamba halii / ila anapotoka yaini tu / S P/M- P A A
a crocodile does not cry except when it comes out of the egg

9.14. *(c) With -vyo-.* Except for the use of *kama* in certain contexts, the use of a marker word in Con when the verb has infix -*vyo*- is optional. Compare:

/ kama ujuavyo / alitoroka M- P/P
as you know, he ran away

/ (kama) nionavyo mimi / hawezi kuendelea (M-) P S/P C-vn
as I see it, he cannot continue
kama is optional

The optional marker words in Con with verb having -vyo- are kwa vile, kwa jinsi, kwa kadiri and kwa namna, e.g.

/ kwa vile alivyosema upesi / sikusikia vizuri M- P A/P A
because of his rapid speech, I didn't hear properly

/ kwa jinsi alivyonihoji / nalishindwa kumjibu M- P(O)/P C-vn(O)
because of the way he questioned me, I was unable to answer him

/ kwa kadiri niwezavyo / nitajaribu kukuhudumia M- P/P C-vn(O)
as much as I can, I will try to serve you

/ kwa namna alivyotamka maneno yake / nalijua ni mgeni M- P O/P Comp
because of the way he pronounced his words, I knew he was a foreigner

Con with marker word kwa kadiri also modifies a copulative sentence with Em, e.g.:

kwa kadiri ndege wanavyotua, ndivyo tunavyowafukuza M- SP/Comment
to the extent the birds come to rest, so do we drive them off

(II) With verb having no conditioning infix.

9.15. Probably due to English influence there is a growing tendency to omit the verbal infix after certain marker words, particularly after kwa vile and wakati, e.g.:

/ kwa vile gazeti lina (vyo) toka kila siku / sisi hupata habari nyingi M- S P A/S P O
because the paper comes out every day, we get a lot of news

/ wakati nili (po) kaa Tanga / nalikuwa karani M- P A/P C
while I lived in Tanga, I was a clerk

9.16. Certain marker words regularly co-occur with a verb having no conditioning infix. These are in two groups, viz. marker words co-occurring (a) with a verb in the subjunctive, and (b) with a verb of the shape of a primary tense-form. As follows:

9.17. *(a) With subjunctive.* Marker words occurring with a subjunctive are: *anga*, *hata*, *ili*, *kusudi* or *makusudi*, *maana*, *mpaka*, *ngaa* and *tangu*, e.g.

alinipa maji / anga nipate nguvu kidogo / P(O) C/M- P O
he gave me water so that at least I might get a little strength

nitamngojea / hata aje hapa / P(O) /M- P A
I will wait for him until he comes here

nitakaa hapa / ili nipate kuonana naye / P A/M- P C-vn A
I will stay here so that I can meet him
The use of *ili* is optional

alifanya hivyo / kusudi asishtakiwe ulevi / P A /M- PP
he did that so that he shouldn't be accused of drunkenness
The use of *kusudi* is optional

/ maana nisiende / ndiyo sababu sina nguo M- P/Comment
the reason why I am not going is because I have no clothes

cf. *sina nguo ndiyo maana nisiende* S linked/Comment
I have no clothes, that is why I am not going

alifanya hivyo makusudi P A A
he did that on purpose

nitakaa hapa / mpaka nimwone / P A /M- P(O)
I will stay here until I see him

tuliwaombea / ngaa wapate mahali pa salama / P(O) /M- P O
we prayed for them that at least they might get a place of safety

/ tangu azaliwe / hajapata kuiona bahari M- P/P C-vn O
Since he was born he has never seen the sea.

It is a feature of Con that in relation to the matrix sentence its position is not fixed, but there is often a preferred position, either before or after it.

9.18. *(b) With verb having shape of a primary tense.* The marker word *kabla* co-occurs with a negative verb having tense sign -*ja*-*a*, and its use is not optional in Con: it takes its time reference from the verb in the matrix sentence, e.g.:

tulimwona / kabla hajatuona sisi P(O) / M- P O
we saw him before he saw us

tutanawa mikono / kabla hatujala PP / M- P
we will wash our hands before we eat

The other marker words co-occurring with a verb having the shape of a primary tense are *kama*, *kwa kuwa* and *kwa sababu*, e.g.:

/ kama anataka / mimi sitamzuia M- P / S P(O)
if he wants to, I will not prevent him

sitakwenda afisini leo / kwa kuwa mimi siwezi / P A A / M- S P
I will not go to the office today, because I am unwell

saa yangu imevunjika / kwa sababu iliangushwa S P / M- P
my watch is broken, because it was dropped

The forms *kwa maana*, *kwa kuwa*, *maana* and *sababu* occur as links, and their function then is not so much to state a reason as to prepare the listener for the ensuing sentence. It is a linking rather than a modifying function. The differing functions are not easily recognised from the written word. Marker words with the general equivalent meaning of "because" or "for" do not necessarily occur in proximity to the verb of their own Con clause, for imbedded clauses may intervene. Note the following example:

hatutakwenda kesho, kwa maana tukienda kabla hatujamwambia baba atasikitika
we shan't go tomorrow, because if we go tomorrow before telling father he will be sorry

Here there are two imbedded Cons, viz. *tukienda* and *kabla hatujamwambia baba* and their modifying function relates to *atasikitika*. The two matrix or basic sentences underlying this structure are: *hatutakwenda kesho* and *baba atasikitika*, and the imbedded Cons modify the second sentence rather than the first. "Why will father be sorry?" "If we go before telling him." In a context like this the marker word can be substituted by *maana yake* or *maana* or *kwani* or *sababu yake*. The stretch beginning *kwa maana*...cannot precede the initial sentence. It is considered more appropriate, therefore, to classify *kwa maana* in the above example as a link. This means that *atasikitika* is not classified as P of Con but as P of a consecutive sentence. Compare a sentence in which *kwa maana* functions as M-:

hatutakwenda kesho / kwa maana baba ametukataza / P A / M- S P(O)
we will not go tomorrow because father has forbidden us

Compare also:

/ tukienda / kabla hatujamwambia / baba atasikitika, basi
hatutakwenda kesho
if we go before telling him, father will be sorry, and
so we will not go tomorroa

With this order the two basic sentences are more clearly apparent.

9.19. The words *hata*, *kama* and *mpaka* also introduce consecutive sentences and share the same status as links, e.g.:

jua halikuchwa bado hata tukafika
the sun had not set when we arrived

This classification is not according to the English equivalent in which "when we arrived" is a conditioning clause which can precede the matrix sentence. In the Swahili sentence the infix -*ka*- marks its verb as a consecutive verb, and *hata tukafika* cannot precede the first sentence. Similarly:

tulipita mwituni kama tukasikia mngurumo wa simba
we passed through the forest when we heard the roar of a lion

tulimhoji mpaka tumechoka
we interrogated him until we are tired

tulitembea ufuoni hata haikunyesha mvua
we walked on the beach and it didn't even rain

The combination kama kwamba or kana kwamba introduces Con, e.g.:

aliporokwa na maneno ovyo / kana kwamba alishikwa na wazimu
he babbled incoherently as though he were mad

anatembea kama kwamba sisi sote tunamtegemea yeye
he goes around as though we were all dependent upon him

9.20. Complementing clauses (Comp). A complementing clause (Comp) functions as complement of Predicate (P). Unlike Con, Comp is usually necessary for the completion of the sentence. Without it a valid sentence in some instances results, but it is not the same sentence. The relationship of Comp to P is comparable to that of the syntactic unit C to P, e.g.:

alininomba tukae kidogo P(O) Comp
he asked me that we should stay a while

cf. aliniomba shauri P(O) C
he asked me for advice

The underlying structure of sentences with Comp is partly related to the lexical nature of the verb introducing the clause. Verbs introducing Comp have such meanings as "say, know, tell, beg, command, explain, insist, beseech, explain". Some verbs are not capable of introducing Comp, e.g.:

alitoroka asikamatwe na polisi
he ran away so as not to be arrested by the police

In this sentence there is a latent marker word, but it is the wrong marker word for Comp, either ili or kusudi. The marker words of Comp are ya kwamba, ya kuwa, kwamba, kuwa, ya kama, kama, and *ati*, but these also may be latent and not expressed. Learners of the language tend to use them much more than native speakers. The possibility of their use is, however, an important factor in establishing the sentence structure.

9.21. Comp has fixed position in relation to P, the matrix verb, but in certain sentences, e.g. in relation to a copulative sentence with Em, Comp can precede Cop, and when it does, the full form of the marker word is employed, i.e., *ya kwamba*, and not *kwamba*, e.g.:

ya kwamba tukae kidogo ndivyo alivyoniomba
that we should stay a while, that is what he asked me

Similarly when Con precedes its matrix sentence, it is considered good style to use the marker word, e.g.:

ili asikamatwe na polisi alitoroka
so that he should not be arrested by the police, he ran away

Without a latent marker word and in post-P position, i.e. without the possibility of a latent marker, the clause may be a Consecutive clause (Consec), e.g.:

...*basi, alitoroka asikamatwe na polisi*...
...and so, he ran away without being arrested by the police...

In some instances the distinction between Con and Comp can be made only by reference to the latent marker word. For instance:

alinitia moyo niendelee na kusoma
he encouraged me to continue studying

Here Con and Comp have the same surface structure, but a different underlying structure. There are two possibilities with reference to a latent marker word, viz. *kwamba*, the marker of Comp, or *ili* or *kusudi*, the marker words of Con, as follows:

alinitia moyo kwamba niendelee na kusoma PP(O) Comp
he encouraged me that I should continue to study

alinitia moyo ili niendelee na kusoma PP(O) Con
he encouraged me in order that I should continue to study

9.22. The subject-prefix of P in Comp may have concomitant agreement either with S or O of P in the matrix verb, but P in Comp is not an expansion by affixal association of S or O in such contexts, because the permissibe use of a latent marker word establishes P in Comp as P in its own right and not, say, a component of PP, e.g.

alitaka apumzike
he wanted to rest

cf. *alitaka kwamba apumzike*
he wanted to rest

alimwomba baba (kwamba) ampe pesa
he asked father to give him money

Examples of Comp in which the subject-prefix of P in Comp does not have even concomitant agreement:

alinitaka waondoke
he asked me that they should leave

alimwomba baba turuhusiwe kwenda sokoni
he begged father for us to be allowed to go to market

aliwashauri tufanye mkutano
he advised them that we should have a meeting

9.23. P in Comp in sentences considered above is restricted to the subjunctive. When P of the matrix is a verb expressing "forbid, prevent, stop, deter, prohibit", P of Comp is further restricted to the negative of the subjunctive, e.g.:

alimkataza ndugu yangu asivute tumbako
he forbade my brother to smoke

alimzuia binti yake asitembee usiku
he prevented his daughter from going about at night

alinikomesha nisiendelee kusema
he stopped me from going on speaking

An alternative construction is the use of a verbo-nominal in place of the negative subjunctive, and this is classified as C-vn, with the possibility of relationship to O or A, e.g.:

alimkataza ndugu yangu kuvuta tumbako P O C-vn O
he forbade my brother to smoke

C-vn O is not a normal clause, and it is understood that when O occurs after C-vn, this is evidence of the verbal character of the verbo-nominal.

alimzuia binti yake kutembea usiku P O C-vn A
he prevented his daughter from going about at night

alinikomesha kuendelea kusema P(O) C-vn C-vn
he stopped me from going on speaking

9.24. Another type of verb introducing Comp is that which allows P of Comp to be a verb with a tense other than the subjunctive. This is perhaps the most frequent type of occurrence with Comp, e.g.:

alisema ya kwamba hakutaka kurudi mapema
he said that he didn't want to come back early

aliniambia ya kuwa atarudi mapema
he told me that he will come back early

alikana kwamba amezichukua pesa yeye
he denied that he had taken the money

alifikiri kuwa atachelewa mkutanoni
he thought he would be late for the meeting

alijua kama hatamwona tena
he knew he wouldn't see him again

aliona ya kama bila shaka atafaulu
he considered that no doubt he would succeed

In these sentences the marker words are interchangeable or may be omitted altogether as latent marker words.

alisema ati anajua Kiswahili
he said that he knows Swahili well

The use of ati makes the statement in Comp a dubious fact.

9.25. Interdependent sentences. Interdependent sentences in Swahili are hypothetical sentences which in their full form state a hypothesis and its consequence. The sentence stating the hypothesis is the protasis, and the sentence stating the consequence is the apodosis. Formally the protasis is distinguished from the apodosis in Swahili by the optional use of the marker word kama. The apodosis sometimes occurs with zero protasis, but not vice versa. The hypothetical infixes are -nge- with present or future time reference, and -ngali- or -ngeli- with past time reference. Examples:

(kama) wangejua njia wangetuonyesha
if they knew the way, they would show us

(kama) ningalikuwa na karatasi ningaliandika barua
if I had had some paper, I would have written a letter

The positive grammatical structure gives a semantically negative implication, and vice versa. "If I had had some paper - but I did not, I would have written a letter - but I did not". Compare:

(kama) nisingalikuwa na karatasi nisingaliandika barua
if I had not had paper, I would not have written a letter

The infixes are not always the same both in the protasis and the apodosis, e.g.:

(kama) usingekuwa mkaribishaji asingalikaa sana
if you were not a hospitable person, he wouldn't have stayed long

(kama) usingalikwenda chuoni usingejua kitu
had you not gone to school, you wouldn't know a thing

Similarly, the occurrence of positive or negative verb in either protasis or apodosis is dependent upon the meaning, e.g.:

(kama) angalikuwa mwaminifu haya yote yasingalitokea
if he had been trustworthy, all these things would not have happened

asingalikuwa mwaminifu mambo mabaya yangalitokea
if he had not been trustworthy, bad things would have taken place

Interdependent sentences occur as Comp, e.g.:

walijua kwamba wangekubali tu wangeachiliwa
they knew that if only they agreed, they would be released

Either protasis or apodosis, or both, may include Comp, e.g.

ingekuwa (kwamba) wameendelea kupanda tungeona (kwamba) hali yetu sasa haijambo
if they had continued to plant, we would find our condition good now

9.26. In connection with this type of construction, note that forms ingawa and ijapokuwa, which do occur with variable subject-prefix, co-occur with an imbedded Comp identifiable by its latent marker word, and the whole clause is classified as a conditioning clause, e.g.:

/ ingawa (kwamba) anakaa mjini / haonekani kamwe
although he lives in the town, he is never visible

/ ujapokuwa (kwamba) wasema maneno mazuri / hunipendi
even though you speak fine words, you do not love me

9.27. The invariables *laiti*, *heri*, *afadhali* and *bora* introduce clauses in which the verb of P has hypothetical infix. There is a latent marker word of Comp and the clauses are classified as Comp whether the marker word actually occurs or not. The important thing is that it can occur:

laiti (kwamba) tungalipatana siku ile
oh that we had agreed that day!
or if only we had agreed that day!

heri asingalisema neno
better had he said nothing!

afadhali angefika leo
better if he came today!

bora tusingalikubali
better had we not agreed!

9.28. Either the protasis or the apodosis occurs without the hypothetical infix in any item, but most frequently the sentence without the infix is non-verbal, e.g.:

angeshindwa kufika hatakosa kutuarifu
if he couldn't come, he will not fail to let us know

tungezaliwa tumbo moja, kila mmoja wetu ana roho yake vilevile
if we were born brothers, each one of us has his own soul just the same

kama ana hamu angerudi nyumbani
if he has the longing, he would return home

ningekuwa na mali, nakusudia kununua motokaa
if I were rich, I intend to buy a car

The simple patterns of these composite sentences are often complicated by the occurrence of imbedded clauses, but the study of clause structure in its more complex forms cannot be undertaken here.

9.20. *Consecutive sentences.* Consecutive sentences in Swahili are formally indicated by (I) verbal infix, (II) the use of a link, and (III) the consecutive position. Only the general features of consecutive sentences are outlined here.

9.30. *(I) By infix.* The verbal infix -*ka*- is a consecutive marker in positive verbs, e.g.:

tulikwenda dukani / tukanunua mafuta ya taa
we went to the shop and we bought lamp oil

The infix -*ka*- does not occur in an initial verb, and where it occurs the use of a link is superfluous. Even so, the link *na* is often used as well as the infix, even by first speakers of the language, and especially when Adjunct precedes the verb, e.g.

walipiga kura na saa ile ile wakapeleka maombi yao
they voted and at the same time presented their petition

The negative counterpart of the -*ka*- tense is the negative subjuctive or after a link a primary negative tense, e.g.:

alirudi nyumbani akaingia ndani asimkute mkewe
or *alirudi nyumbani alakingia ndani bali hakumkuta mkewe*
he returned home and went inside but did not find his wife

Since consecutive sentences are different sentences, even when -*ka*- is employed the component of S in the consecutive sentence is not necessarily the same as in the initial sentence, e.g.

walimwuliza maswali mengi asijibu neno
they asked him many questiong, but he said nothing in reply

alirudi nyumbani mkewe akampika chakula wakalala
he returned home, his wife cooked him food, and they went to bed

9.31. *(II) By links.* A link connects either syntactic units or sentences. When employed to link syntactic units of a single sentence, there is more than one sentence in the underlying structure, e.g.:

sikununua chai wala sukari P O
I bought neither tea nor sugar

for sikununua chai / sikununua sukari P O/P O
I didn't buy tea / I didn't buy sugar

This type of construction is used frequently with verbo-nominals, e.g.:

alitaka kumleta yule mtoto na kumlea hapa P C-vn O/C-vn(O) A
she wanted to bring the child and bring him up here

So long as the components of O or C are nominals, they are included in the representation of the structure within the single O or single C, but when they are VNs their function is not limited to that of O or C, e.g., the second VN can take A which does not relate to the first VN. The use of an oblique stroke shows that VN2 is not merely a link Adjunct of any unit in the first sentence, but a syntactic unit of a consecutive sentence. Again:

/ alitaka kumleta yule mtoto nyumbani / na kumwambia mkewe / amlee
he wanted to bring the child home and tell his wife to bring it up

In this sentence O of VN1 refers to a different person from O of VN2, and VN2 introduces Comp, viz. P C-vn O A/C-vn O/P(O).

These sentences have the initial verb deleted in the consecutive sentence, but frequently the VN is substitute for a consecutive P and must be given the status of P in the representation of the structure, viz. P-vn, e.g.:

aliendelea na kuzungumza naye P/P-vn A
he continued talking to him

...mmoja wao akasimama na kuuliza... S P/P-vn
...and one of them stood up and asked...

...akatoa noti ya shilingi elfu na kuiweka
juu ya meza... P O/P-vn(O) A
...and he took out a note for a thousand shillings
and put it on the table

This use of VN as substitute P extends to occurrences with M- of Con, e.g.:

hakuweza / ila kumjibu kwa kutabasamu / P/M- P-vn O
he could do no other than answer her by smiling

alikwenda hospitalini / ili kumtazama baba yake P A/M- P-vn O
he went to the hospital to visit his father

9.32. In previous grammars the term "consecutive" has been used to apply only to narrative tenses in past time, but here a consecutive sentence is any non-initial sentence. The function of links is the same whether the consecutive sentence is a narrative or a co-ordinating sentence, e.g.:

tutashona kwanza na halafu tutafagia
we will sew first and then we will sweep

tulishona kwanza na halafu tulifagia
or tulishona kwanza na halafu tukafagia
we sewed first and then we swept

There are links, however, which occur only in consecutive sentences with a co-ordinating function. These are ama and au. A factor distinguishing these links from all others is that they occur not only singly as a link, but also initially, e.g.:

ama tutashona ama tutafagia
we will either sew or sweep

au atakuja au asije
or au atakuja au hatakuja
he will either come or not

tutashona au tutafagia
we will sew or we will sweep

utafagia hapa au kama hutaki waweza kushona nguo hii
you will sweep here, or if you don't want to you can sew this cloth

As a single link au occurs more frequently than ama. Both occur in parenthesis, as follows:

tutamaliza kazi kesho - ama sivyo - tutaimaliza kesho kutwa
we will finish the work tomorrow, or if not, we will finish it the day after tomorrow

atasikiliza maombi yako - au la - utamwendea Rais mwenyewe
he will listen to your petition, or if not, you will go to the President himself

9.33. The link wala connects a negative sentence to a preceding sentence whether negative or positive. In relation to a syntactic unit, not a sentence, wala precedes both co-ordinating nominals in contexts after a negative form where the equivalent of "neither..nor" is expressed, but it also occurs between the nominals, e.g.:

sina wala baba wala mama
or sina baba wala mama
I have neither father nor mother

hupati wala bahati wala baraka
or hupati bahati wala baraka
you won't get either luck nor a blessing

Note in relation to VN:

sikuweza kumwona wala kumwambia shauri yangu P C-vn(O)/C-vn(O) C
I wasn't able to see him nor to tell him my matter

hakujaribu kufika wala kutupelekea barua P C-vn/C-vn(O) C
he didn't try to come nor to send us a letter

Connecting a negative sentence:

vitu hivi havitafaa wala havitatumika S P/P
these things are no good, nor will they be used

alivumilia mengi wala hakuacha kusali P O/P C-vn
he endured much and never gave up praying

9.34. The links bali, kisha, lakini, (ilakini and walakini also) occur to connect sentences. They differ from the links hata, ila, na and tena in that they do not have a second function of relating to a syntactic unit. They introduce consecutive matrix sentences. The use of bali implies a contrast or opposition, e.g.

alipiga bunduki yake, bali haikufyatuka
he fired his gun, but it didn't go off

alipata chakula kidogo, kisha akaenda zake
he took a little food, and then went his way

ni mrefu wa futi sita na zaidi, lakini haonekani kuwa mrefu
he is more than six foot tall, but he doesn't seem tall

The links basi, kisha, lakini and na are not just connectives between two sentences, though they do have that function. Like other links and word-groups that function as links they mark the beginning of a new stretch in the discourse, and are the equivalent of the English "and so", "well now", "consequently", "nevertheless". The discourse can be interrupted by a pause and then be continued by using one of these links or group-links. The latter include such forms as lakini tena but moreover, basi tena, and so then, na tena furthermore, zaidi ya hayo moreover, pamoja na hayo as well as that, juu ya hayo concerning that, etc.

Further examples:

tuliendelea na safari yetu hata tukafika mahali kwenye miti
we continued our journey and eventually reached a place with trees

nalitaka kufika ila wazazi wangu walinikataza
I wanted to come, but my parents forbade me

mwalimu huletewa mashtaka na wanafunzi hupewa adhabu yao
the teacher has charges brought to him and the pupils receive their punishment

akili zake nzito sana, tena ni mvivu pia
he is very dim-witted, and he is lazy as well

sitakubali maneno yako, basi ni bure kuendelea kusemasema
I don't agree with you, so it is useless to go on talking

9.35. (III) By consecutive position. Matrix sentences occur quite frequently in discourse in consecutive position, but with no other formal way to distinguish them from initial sentences. The following is an extract from a narrative. Note the use of the -me- -a tense:

...hata mimi nimechoka, nimekwenda kulala muda wa saa tatu, nimeondoka, nikaenda mezani, nimewakuta vilevile kama mwanzo...
...even I was tired, and so I went to sleep for three hours, and then I got up and went to the dining-room and found them just the same as before...

Stretches of narrative occur which, because past time reference is established at the beginning of the narrative, are grammatically in the present tense.

Fixed word-order establishes clauses as substitutes for consecutive sentences, e.g.:

...tulikuwa tukitembea karibu na hospitali tulipokutana na Ali...
...we were walking near the hospital when/and we met Ali...

Here tulipokutana na Ali has the function of a consecutive sentence and is substitute for tukakutana na Ali. This applies only if the clause has consecutive position. In initial position, the clause functions as Con, e.g.:

tulipokutana na Ali tulikuwa tukitembea karibu na hospitali
when we met Ali, we were walking near the hospital

A more detailed analysis of the complex system of clauses is the subject of future study based upon the conclusions tentatively reached in this present work.

Footnotes

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